# INDIA

## *And The World*

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

ARNOLD TOYNBEE

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# PREFACE

The Indian Council for Cultural Relations is an autonomous body set up by the Government of India with a view to establish, revive and strengthen cultural relations and mutual understanding between India and other countries by promoting a wider knowledge and appreciation of their language, culture and art through exchange at various levels and the establishment of contacts and cooperation with national and international organisations in the field of culture. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was the first Education Minister of independent India, was the Founder President of the Council and served as its guiding spirit in all its activities from the very inception

When in 1958 Maulana Azad died, the Council decided as a mark of honour to his memory, to institute the Azad Memorial Lectures to provide a forum for eminent scholars from India or abroad to speak on some problem of human welfare and development with special reference to India Maulana Azad was a humanist whose interests extended to every aspect of human thought, feeling and action It is therefore the Council's hope that this series of lectures will make a significant contribution in promoting better understanding among different peoples and relieving some of the tensions which have accumulated in the world today

I

Maulana Azad contributed to the life and thought of India in many ways He attained eminence as a brilliant writer and theologian in his early youth but the qualities which made this achievement possible did not allow him to rest for long in the purely academic field The spirit of free enquiry and search for truth led him inevitably into the political movement From his early twenties he was a fighter for the independence of India for even at that age he had realised that man cannot attain a true and full development except in an atmosphere of freedom The Indian people did him the honour of electing him the President of the Indian National Congress when he was only thirty five Later during the most critical period of the struggle for freedom he guided the destinies of the Congress for six momentous years He was President of the Congress during the struggle of 1942 as well as in the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps Lord Wavell and the British Cabinet Mission

It was love of freedom which converted the scholarly Maulana Azad into an intrepid political fighter It was the same love which made him an outspoken champion of rationalism and progressiveness in all spheres of Indian life He sought to approach social economic and political as well as moral and religious questions from a detached and dis passionate point of view Freedom and equity were for him the guiding principles of life and he sought to realise them for all sections of the Indian people regardless of language religion or caste

The two outstanding qualities of his mind were the great clarity of his thought and the balance and sobriety of his judgment He could go immediately to the heart of a problem and ignore all unimportant or extraneous issues This capacity to pick out the essentials was accompanied by a

scrupulous sense of justice and fairplay He never took a one-sided view on any matter and was always willing to make allowances for those who differed from him His like or dislike of a person rarely, if ever, swayed his judgment His intellectual detachment and his ability to take into consideration various points of view gave a peculiar weight to whatever he said

Maulana Azad was essentially a scholar who had been dragged into politics by the force of circumstances Nothing reveals the scholar so clearly in him as the way in which he tried to shun publicity Political leaders — in India or elsewhere — generally derive their strength from their contacts with the masses, but Maulana Azad was essentially a recluse who preferred the seclusion of his study to the arena of politics His shy and retiring nature endeared him all the more to the Indian people The stupendous demonstration of public grief and admiration which followed his death has never been equalled except on the occasion of Mahatma Gandhi s martyrdom

Maulana Azad believed that the integrity and rectitude which we demand in scholarly pursuits are equally indispensable in the governance of man He was therefore uncompromising in his demand for honesty of thought and action in every sphere of life Society can survive only if it is based on the principles of justice and fairplay When men conform to these principles they know what to expect from one another and are therefore able to take concerted action for the common good Whenever an individual makes special claims in his own behalf he places strains upon the fabric of social life When too many individuals act in that manner the basis of social solidarity is lost India has in the past suffered because the individual too often sought exemption in his own favour Maulana Azad repeatedly declared that any deviation from the strict path of the right was fraught with danger to the future of the nation

Maulana Azad was therefore a stern upholder of the highest standards of conduct in public and private life. This did not however interfere with his sympathy and compassion for the erring individual As a student of human affairs he knew that we are all liable to lapses and we should not be too harsh in condemning human frailty He was therefore always reluctant to condemn any one in unqualified terms. This compassion for the individual did not however interfere with his demand for strict enforcement of standards in public conduct While he would extend his sympathy to the individual who failed he demanded that every case of lapse must be judged on merit and be accorded its proper due in terms of justice He never allowed his private compassion to interfere with his public judgment of men and affairs

Maulana Azad s scholarly interests embraced the whole universe of knowledge He was simultaneously a historian and a philosopher a literary man and a theologian He brought a keen scientific temper to bear on all his studies and refused to be overwhelmed by authority and tradition A born intellectual he sought to bring everything to the test of reason He knew that human knowledge is essentially one and thus different sciences are but attempts of the human mind to understand separately different aspects of the real. The same catholicity is evident in his belief that knowledge can never be divided on the basis of race region or period It is only through the contribution of all peoples of all times that the noble edifice of human knowledge has been and will continue to be built

*History of Philosophy Eastern and Western* which owed its inspiration mainly to him is one shining example of the catholicity of Maulana Azad s outlook. Another is seen in the establishment of the Indian Council for Cultural Relations whose aim is to extend and strengthen India s cultural contacts with all countries of the world Everyone who came

into contact with him was struck by his balanced, steady and unflinching devotion to truth and the loyalty with which he served the cause of the Indian nation His conception of India was of a country where all religions, all communities, all sections of opinion would find their proper place and work harmoniously in creating conditions where the individual would find the opportunity of fulfilment and growth Maulana Azad worked so that India could serve the same ideal in the wider field of the world It is fitting and proper that the Council should seek to honour the memory of its Founder President by instituting this series of lectures dealing with human welfare and development, for in honouring him, the Council is honouring the ideal for which he stood

II

The Council was fortunate that Shri Jawaharlal Nehru agreed to deliver the first series of the Azad Memorial Lectures Perhaps no one else has been so close to Maulana Azad Nobody else has sympathised so deeply with Maulana Azad s fears hopes and aspirations Mr Nehru chose as his theme the story of India and in the process not only summed up the developments in India today and tomorrow but also gave us an outline of his own philosophy of life

It is not necessary to stress Mr Nehru s status as a states man and writer of international fame, but one must refer to the utter sincerity which is his outstanding characteristic as a thinker, writer and man of action For him to think is to feel and to feel is to act Such swiftness of response may puzzle and at times irritate slower minds but is evidence of the transparent sincerity in which there is often no room for second thoughts For Mr Nehru, experience and expression are almost always simultaneous

Sincerity makes for integration of personality and this is

the secret of Mr Nehru s resilience and strength Imprisonment is always a test of character less for the physical suffering it involves than for the strain it imposes upon a man s balance of mind Shut off from normal activities and denied the opportunity of meeting his fellows a man is thrown back upon the resources of his own feelings thought and will Forced inactivity imposes a terrible strain which is directly proportionate to the vitality and energy of the man This explains why so many political leaders suffer a breakdown of health if not of spirit while in jail Mr Nehru has gone through his prison life almost unscathed This was possible only because of the integration of imagination thou ht and will in his personality When the will had no outlet in movement and deed imagination made the life of thought and emotion equally real to him

An artist s sensitiveness distinguishes Mr Nehru s political acts and utterances Artists are proverbially shy and self centred and yet by a curious law of psychological compensation they love to display their thoughts and emotions before their fellow men They are generally content to express in line colour or words their reactions to the stimuli of the outer world In some rare cases however the reaction is so strong that expression alone does not satisfy them They seek to enter the arena of public life and change the environment into which they were born The artist is then merged in the political fighter but even in the midst of strife and struggle the mantle of the artist clings to him History has rarely brought upon the stage a more perfect specimen of the artist in public life than Jawaharlal Nehru

Greatness in any sphere has in it an element of paradox It is the combination of contraries that gives richness and complexity to genius It is therefore not surprising that the scientific temper is as marked in Mr Nehru as the artistic temperament He has always struggled to bring into his

study of men and affairs the impersonal and objective attitude of science His searching critical and questing spirit makes it difficult for him to take a one-sided view and if this has at times made him hesitant in following a course of action to the bitter end it has given to his thought, writing and action a breadth of vision and sanity that distinguishes the essential man of science

If unity in diversity is the essence of the Indian spirit, it is a principle that is equally valid and indeed, imperative for the rest of the world That is also why Mr Nehru's vision of *India Today and Tomorrow* has a special significance not only to Indians whom he invites to accept the challenge of a new birth but to sensitive men and women throughout the world

III

The second series of the Azad Memorial Lectures was delivered by Professor Arnold Toynbee a historian who needs no introduction to any audience anywhere in the world It is not necessary to speak of his scholarship but one point which he shares in common with Maulana Azad in whose honour these lectures have been instituted, and Jawaharlal Nehru who delivered the first series may perhaps be mentioned One could describe all of them as citizens of a World Union which is not yet in being

Professor Toynbee has taken as his special field of study the rise and fall of civilisations throughout the world Through them he has himself learnt and taught others that there is a fundamental unity of the human spirit in spite of the infinite variety of circumstances which had faced man from the dawn of history His studies reinforce our instinctive belief that the history of man is indeed the story of the growing [illegible] macy of man s mind over the material universe [illegible]

man a spark of divinity which has enabled him to meet and overcome challenges of the most forbidding type Individuals have succumbed and even nations have fallen by the way side but man has marched forward and reached a stage where he is poised for perhaps the decisive battle of his fate

The depth and sweep of Professor Toynbee's knowledge has astounded and delighted his readers What is of even greater human value is his deep sympathy with man's endeavour for a better life Man's march towards civilisation has been characterised by the demolition of barriers and widening of sympathies Today man has reached a stage where physical obstacles to human unity have been almost overcome and he has only to take the imaginative leap forward which would overcome the last psychological barrier There is almost a prophetic note in the sincerity and devotion with which Professor Toynbee urges upon man the need of imaginative and intellectual union of the world

We were happy that Professor Toynbee took as his theme India's contribution to the unification of the world In some ways India is a meeting place of the thought currents of men of all races and regions The long association of India with the British Empire was a political and economic misfortune but it also led to the interpenetration of eastern and western thought in a way of which there is perhaps no parallel elsewhere in the world An educated westerner is normally conscious only of his indebtedness to the Hellenic and the Hebraic traditions A few may have some idea of the contribution of the Arab mind during the middle ages but there is an insufficient awareness of Europe's indebtedness to India and the eastern world Similar limitations mark the intellectual attitude of many persons in other oriental countries

By contrast even the average educated man in contemporary India is immediately aware of the impact of western

a Commonwealth and the creation of feelings of cooperation fellowship and friendship in place of the rather uneasy and at times unhappy relations between India and Britain which obtained before Many of us remember how almost by *magic the relations between our two countries changed* Some of those who had fought hardest for severing the British connection accepted immediately and *with enthusiasm com* mon fellowship in the Commonwealth for establishing the nucleus of a commonwealth of the entire world

The Commonwealth has today developed into an assembly of peoples races nations regions and religions united with out any visible bond No force binds them except allegiance *to certain common ideals Lord Attlee* will be remembered as the man mainly responsible for this development by bringing about the peaceful transformation in the relations between India and the United Kingdom In a sense this transforma tion started the process of liberation of large areas of Asia and Africa which has taken place since the Second World War The greatly accelerated pace at which Africans are achieving nationhood and asserting themselves on the world platform started from the day when India took her place as an equal *member in the Commonwealth It would therefore be fair* to say that Lord Attlee has served not only India and Britain but the whole world in having pointed to the way by which colonial relationship could be transformed into a relation of friendship equality and cooperation

Lord Attlee chose for his theme two subjects which are of the greatest interest to modern man *The Future of the United Nations* and *The Future of Democracy* As readers will see for themselves his words are full of wisdom born out of experience and vision It is this combination of experience and vision of idealism and practical good sense which accounts for his great success as a statesman The title he chose for his autobiography is itself significant *As It Hap-*

*pened* This unassuming title for the life of a leader who played a decisive role in some of the most momentous events of history gives us an insight into the nature of the man His reflections on the future of the United Nations — on which depends the future of man — and the future of democracy — in which lies the hope of individuals as well as communities — has therefore a special significance for the modern world

V

These lectures were published separately soon after they were delivered Since then many have expressed the view that it would be of interest and value to have them published in one volume This would give the general reader an opportunity to know the views of three of the most distinguished men of the modern world on some of the problems which will determine the fate of man

HUMAYUN KABIR

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1959

*JAWAHARLAL NEHRU*

# INDIA TODAY AND TOMORROW

# 1

I MUST BEGIN WITH AN APOLOGY  EVEN THOUGH I HAVE BEEN connected for a long time with public affairs and speak often in public, I am totally unaccustomed to delivering a lecture of the kind I am expected to give today  Such a lecture should be thoughtful and scholarly, and a good deal of time should be devoted to its preparation  Apart from my inexperience in such matters, I have found it very difficult, during the Budget Session of Parliament and because of my day to-day activities which consume a great deal of time  to do justice to this occasion

I was reluctant to accept this assignment but, in a moment of weakness, I agreed  I wished to pay my homage on this anniversary day of the passing away of Maulana Azad, to his memory which we cherish  I was fascinated also by the subject suggested to me for, in some form or other, the present and the future of India have filled my mind  At the same time I was a little alarmed  This subject is too vital and I have been too much connected with the India of today to be able to take a dispassionate view  I crave  therefore, the indulgence of my listeners for this, my maiden effort at a lecture of this kind, prepared under the stress of heavy work and other circumstances

To endeavour to understand and describe the India of

today would be the task of a brave man to say anything about tomorrow s India would verge on rashness Indeed at no time in the world s history has it been more difficult to fore cast the future of any country or of the world Events move at an incredible pace and change follows change The super ficial aspect of politics covers innumerable currents below the surface sometimes erupting and upsetting the shape of things

India today is the outcome not only of the immediate past but also of the thousands of years of the long story of our country Layer upon layer of thought experience and action have conditioned us and made us what we are today Those of my generation in India were especially moulded and conditioned by a series of events which are not likely to occur again Not only did we come in contact with a great man and a mighty leader who shook us up completely upset our lives and drew us out of the normal routine of living but we also witnessed and participated in events of historic impor tance We experienced repeatedly moments of high tension and emotional exaltation and also the reaction to this in occasional frustration almost akin to despair Yet this is not wholly correct for we escaped that feeling of mental and physical collapse which usually follows a nervous tension of high degree There was always something to hold on to a leader who was like a rock and a light house and a movement which thrilled us and called out the best in us Those moments were often not pleasurable and were sometimes even painful but there was always a sense of satisfaction and a feeling that we were engaged in great deeds and were march ing in step with history Thought and action went together producing the sensation of a full life What saved us more than anything else was a belief that we were functioning even in political affairs on an ethical plane and with high ideals Hatred did not consume us as it does in conflicts and more especially in nationalist struggles

There was Gandhiji always before us and in our minds But there were others too, giants among men, and there was the comradeship of innumerable men and women whose stature had risen because they were allied to great causes and to a great leader Among these giants of old, young in years but always looked upon as a veteran and old in wisdom, was Maulana Azad He occupied a special place in our movement and he represented to us, more than any one else that synthesis of cultures for which India had always striven He helped us to get out of the ruts of a narrow nationalism and enlarged our vision It was strange that so many people, who differed greatly among themselves, should find a powerful common bond and should work together for a whole generation

## 2

WHAT IS INDIA? THAT IS A QUESTION WHICH HAS COME BACK again and again to my mind and in my own amateurish way I sought a reply to it in her past and in the present The early beginnings of our history filled me with wonder It was the past of a virile and vigorous race with a questing spirit an urge for free inquiry and even in its earliest known period giving evidence of a mature and tolerant civilization Accepting life and its joys and burdens it was ever searching for the ultimate and the universal It built up a magnificent language Sanskrit and through this language and its art and architecture it sent its vibrant message to far countries It produced the Upanishads the Gita and the Buddha

Hardly any language in the world has played that vital part in the history of a race which Sanskrit has It was not only the vehicle of the highest thought and some of the finest literature but it became the uniting bond for India even though there were political divisions The Ramayana and the Mahabharata were woven into the texture of millions of lives in every generation for thousands of years I have often wondered that if our race forgot the Buddha the Upanishads and the great epics what then will it be like? It would be uprooted and would lose the basic characteristics which have clung to it and given it distinction throughout these long ages India would cease to be India

## 3

GRADUALLY DETERIORATION SET IN THOUGHT LOST ITS freshness and became stale, the vitality and exuberance of youth gave place to crabbed age Instead of the spirit of adventure there came lifeless routines, and the broad and exciting vision of the world was cabined and confined and lost in caste divisions, narrow social customs and ceremonials Even so, India was vital enough to absorb the streams of people that flowed into her mighty ocean of humanity, and she never quite forgot the thoughts that had stirred her in the days of her youthful vigour

Subsequently, India was powerfully influenced by the coming of Islam and Muslim invasions. Western colonial powers followed, bringing a new type of domination, a new colonialism and, at the same time, the impact of fresh ideas and of the industrial civilisation that was growing up in Europe This period culminated, after a long struggle, in independence and now we face the future with all this burden of the past upon us and the confused dreams and stirrings of the future that we seek to build We have all these ages represented in us and in our country today Organised power and energy are the symbols of the modern age We have the growth of nuclear science in India and atomic energy, and we also have the cow dung age Thus every century is re presented in this country and, in addition, there is enormous

variety Behind that variety there is the unity which has kept our people together through the ages in spite of misfortune and disaster We are plunging into the world of science and technology and trying to organise our knowledge in such a way that it commands more of the forces of Nature and we are held back not only by our poverty and under development but also by some inherited ideas and customs There is no future for us without science and technology At the same time that future will be shallow and empty and without any real meaning if we ignore or forget our past

## 4

So, in the tumult and confusion of our time we stand facing both ways, forward to the future and backwards to the past being pulled in both directions How can we resolve this conflict and evolve a structure of living which fulfils our material needs and at the same time sustains our mind and spirit? What new ideals or old ideals varied and adapted to the new world can we place before our people and how can we galvanise them into wakefulness and action?

We have our particular problems in India But we also share the major problems of a world which for all its tremendous advance appears to be losing faith in itself For the present in India we are rightly absorbed in economic progress Five Year Plans and a tremendous effort to raise our people's living standards All this is essential and a prerequisite for any other type of advance But a doubt creeps into our minds Is this by itself enough or is something else to be added on to it? The Welfare State is a worthwhile ideal, but it may well be rather drab and the examples of States which have achieved that objective bring out new problems and difficulties which are not solved by material advance alone or by a mechanical civilisation Religion has played an important part in supplying some essential needs of human nature But that type of religion has weakened its hold and is unable to meet the onslaught of science and

rationalism Whether religion is necessary or not a certain faith in a worthwhile ideal is essential to give substance to our lives and to hold us together We have to have a sense of purpose beyond the material and physical demands of our daily lives

Socialism and Communism attempt to give this sense of purpose but they have tended to develop dogmas of their own Communists have become the metaphysicians of the present age

Every society tries to find an equilibrium Sometimes this is through conflict sometimes by deliberate or unconscious attempt to achieve harmony A primitive society which does not change much lives in a rut and thus has an equilibrium at a low level A dynamic society produces tensions in the individual as well as in the community If this is true then the present tensions in the world indicate a tremendous dynamism a striving for a new equilibrium and a new dimension in human existence That should hearten us if there was not an ever present fear that the weapons of the nuclear age might annihilate mankind

We must look to the future and work for it purposively and with faith and vigour at the same time we must keep our past inheritance and derive sustenance from it Change is essential but continuity is also necessary The future has to be built on the foundations laid in the past and the present To deny the past and break with it completely is to uproot ourselves and sapless dry up It was the virtue of Gandhiji to keep his feet firmly planted in the rich traditions of our race and our soil and at the same time to function on the revolutionary plane Many criticised him for what they called his acceptance of out-of-date economic theories or for his supporting some kind of traditionalism or even encouraging reactionary forces and yet any one who examines the

broad sweep of his activities is overwhelmed by their revolutionary consequences Whether we look at them in the political or the social field, we find some difficulty in recognising this because we have been brought up in the Western traditions of conflict He knew that a true revolution comes from the people and not at the top, and that revolution must be essentially social Many eminent social reformers came before him and succeeded in bringing about some minor changes or in building up a new sect but Gandhiji talking in terms of Ram Rajya, brought revolution to millions of homes without people realising fully what was happening He seldom condemned caste as a whole (though in his later days he did so to some extent) but by his insistence on the uplift of the Depressed Classes and the Untouchables, he undermined the entire caste system, and he did so deliberately, knowing the consequences By his technique of political action he vitalised hundreds of millions of people drove out fear from them and produced in them self respect and self reliance By his stress on the under privileged and poverty stricken, he forced all of us to think in terms of social justice *He did all this calmly and dispassionately, avoiding to a large* extent, a sense of conflict Above all he laid stress on truth and peaceful means Indeed, truth became a condition of living for him, and his dynamic action was allied always to truth In doing so, he revived memories in our people of the basic principles which had enriched our race in the past Thus he built on old foundations, and at the same time oriented the structure towards the future The fact that some of his economic or other approaches did not fit in with modern ideas or had only some temporary significance did not trouble him He was always prepared to adapt himself to changing conditions, provided the base was sound

It has always seemed to me remarkable how he could link the past with the present and even the future And because he could do so he could make his people advance step by step

without a break and also avoid conflict to a considerable extent The most vital lesson that he taught us or made us remember afresh was the importance of means Ends were never enough by themselves for the ends were shaped by the means that led to them If there is any basic truth in this principle and in his method of working then we also have to build on the foundations he laid down That does not mean a slavish following of everything that he said or did which might have been suitable at one stage of our existence and is no longer appropriate today We have also to adapt our selves to changing circumstances but the basic principles must continue to guide us

# 5

WHEN ISLAM CAME TO INDIA IN THE FORM OF POLITICAL conquest it brought conflict It had a two fold effect On the one hand it encouraged the tendency of Hindu society to shrink still further within its shell, on the other, it brought a breath of fresh air and fresh ideas and thus had a certain rejuvenating influence Hindu society had become a closed system unlike Buddhism, another great product of Indian thought The Muslims who came from outside brought their own closed system with them Thus two closed systems met neither being strong enough to uproot or subdue the other Political triumph did not lead to intellectual, moral or religious conquest The old Indian tradition and faith were still strong and firm enough to resist the new influence The Muslims came with a vigorous message of their own and could not easily be absorbed, as previous comers had been absorbed Nor could they change the essential character of the Indian people Hence the great problem that faced India during the medieval period was how these two closed systems, each with its strong roots, could develop a healthy relationship Wise rulers like Akbar and others realised that the only hope for the future lay in some kind of harmony being established

The philosophy and the world outlook of the old Hindus was amazingly tolerant and yet they had divided themselves up into numerous separate caste groups and hierarchies The

Muslims had to face a new problem how to live with others as equals In other countries where they had gone their success was so great that this problem did not really arise They came into conflict with Christendom and through hundreds of years the problem was never solved In India slowly a synthesis was developed But before this could be completed other influences came into play Western nations developing industrially and becoming strong had the feeling of their essential superiority over others and lived apart looking down upon those they governed There was a far greater gulf between them and the Indians than there ever had been between Hindus and Muslims

For the first time India was subjected to colonial rule and governance from a distant and far off country Previously the invaders and conquerors who had come to India had made India their home and did not look elsewhere essentially they became Indians Now a new type of invasion took place which could find no roots in India There was an impenetrable barrier between them and the people of the country whether Hindus Muslims or others

Even so the new liberal thought of the West and industrial processes began to affect the mind and life of India A new nationalism developed which was inevitably against colonialism and sought independence and yet which was being progressively affected by the new industrial civilisation as well as the language literature and ways of the West This influence was largely confined to a top layer of the people the great mass sinking into greater poverty

Ram Mohan Roy came seeking some kind of a synthesis between old India and modern trends Vivekananda brought back something of the vigour of old Indian thought and dressed it in a modern garb Political and cultural movements grew up and culminated in Gandhi and Rabindra Nath Tagore

In Europe there had been fierce conflict between science and traditional religion, and the cosmology of Christianity did not fit in at all with scientific theories Science did not produce that sense of conflict in India and Indian philosophy could easily accept it without doing any vital injury to its basic conceptions But the social structure of India became more and more incompatible with modern trends

In India as elsewhere, two forces developed—the growth of nationalism and the urge for social justice Socialism and Marxism became the symbols of this urge for social justice and apart from their scientific content, had a tremendous emotional appeal for the masses Marx was primarily moved by the ghastly conditions that prevailed in the early days of industrialisation in Western Europe At that time there was no truly democratic structure of the State, and changes could hardly be made constitutionally Hence revolutionary violence offered the only way to change Marxism, therefore inevitably thought in terms of a violent revolution This was also in the tradition of Europe Since then however, political democracy has spread bringing with it possibility of peaceful change There has also been a tremendous scientific and technological advance which has brought material prosperity within the reach of all Capitalism itself today has undergone a great deal of change though it maintains its basic features and tends towards monopolies and aggregations of economic power The democratic structure of the State organised labour and above all the urge for social justice as well as scientific and technological progress have brought about this transformation We see today capitalist countries which have achieved a very high material standard of living for all their people

We see also a tremendous advance in material well being and scientific and technological progress in the Soviet Union, achieved in a relatively short period of time To say that this

has been brought about chiefly by violence is not correct There has been enough violence in other systems also But it is true I think that because of circumstances there has been a good deal of violence and purges associated with the development of the Soviet Union The greatest condemnation of this violence has come from the great leaders of the Soviet Union themselves

# 6

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS ARE DOMINATED TODAY BY THE conflict between the Western Powers and the Communist Powers, more particularly, by the rivalry between the United States of America and the Soviet Union And yet, in spite of the manifest differences, there is an amazing similarity between these two Super Powers They have both developed a high degree of industrial and mechanical civilisation they believe in the ever growing power of the machine and its capacity to solve human problems Both their peoples are friendly and hospitable and attached to peace The real difference today is between the developed countries and those that are still under-developed To these latter has come the realisation that only through scientific and industrial growth, can they achieve any kind of progress or get rid of the tremendous material ills that they suffer from To that end they strive, with more or less success for the task is a hard one In Europe, an economic revolution preceded a real political revolution and so when the latter came, certain resources had been built up by economic changes In Asia, political revolution came first followed immediately by demands for social betterment, which could not easily be fulfilled because of economic backwardness and lack of resources The problems of under developed countries were different from those that had already been industrialised and had built up an apparatus for large scale production It is obvious that these under

developed countries could not go through the long processes which had industrialised Europe and America There was con tant social pressure which might well upset the political fabric unless the people were given something to satisfy their longings Then there was also the pressure of rapidly grow ing populations which consumed whatever greater production was made leaving little room for saving or investment for further advance The basic problem thus became one of how in an under-developed and poverty stricken country surpluses could be created for investment and greater production Every such attempt meant a greater burden on the masses And yet those very masses claimed relief from their existing burdens

Coercive methods could be employed But in the final analysis even coercion cannot go far in the case of masses of people unless it is allied to hope for the future Thus essen tially incentives for greater effort had in any event to be provided and some realisable objective had to be placed before the people which gave them this hope for the future That future could not be too distant In a democratic society everything depends on its capacity to rouse the people to greater effort by offering such hope and incentives as well as a progressive amelioration of their lot

Among the under-developed countries India is perhaps more advanced than most others During the last few years there has been definite progress made in building up a base for industrialisation in improving agriculture and advancing education and health But above all she has had the advan tage of the ideals and objectives and disciplines built up by the national movement which brought independence

Nationalism is still the strongest force in Asia The growth of this nationalism in Asia is obvious But even in Europe it is becoming more and more apparent There was the

terrible nationalism associated with Fascism and Nazism While that threat was countered, an aggressive nationalism, though of a milder type, still influences the policies of many countries In many countries of Europe, this is evident in greater or lesser degree This trend is coexistent with an opposite one towards supra national unity in Europe as re presented by attempts to develop a common market and many common institutions

Even in Communist countries, nationalism is in evidence. The Soviet Union, greatly influenced by Marxist ideas and their subsequent variations, has also a strong nationalist element In the other countries of Eastern Europe, the force of nationalism is obvious Even in China, Communism bases itself on nationalism It might be said that the strength of Communism wherever it is in practice, is partly due to its association with the national spirit Where the two are dissociated, Communism is relatively weak, except in so far as it embodies the discontent that exists in under-developed and poverty stricken countries

The nationalist urge, in countries which are still under foreign domination, necessarily takes the form of a struggle for independence In strong and independent countries, it tends to some extent towards expansionism, though it is somewhat checked by opposing tendencies

## 7

THUS WE SEE TODAY A CLASH BETWEEN IMPULSES TOWARDS a larger integration such as in Europe and elsewhere and the centrifugal forces representing traditional nationalism The great development of science and technology and more particularly communications presses more and more towards larger integrations And it may be presumed that in this as in other matters science representing the basic facts of modern life will win in the end The real danger comes from nationalist conflicts which may lead to war

The possibility of such a conflict is increased by the cold war between the major ideologies in the world today And yet behind this supposed conflict of ideologies lies the political rivalry of great nations each afraid of the other There are basic differences in outlook and economic doctrine as well as in the domain of liberty and the State between the Communist countries and those that are not Communist These differences have already lessened somewhat and will probably continue to lessen and the gap between the two though it appears to be broad and deep will diminish It is not so much ideology which is changing human life but the growth of science and technology which are constantly moulding social and economic structures Function influences form This is so in architecture It is equally so ultimately in social structures the form of that structure following its function Science

and technology are constantly changing functions and so the social structure has necessarily to adapt its form to these new functions

Thus, the essential and most revolutionary factor in modern life is not a particular ideology, but technological advance Where technological change is slow, the old forms continue An under-developed and backward community has backward forms and social structure which do not allow it to fit in with the modern age of science But the facts of life cannot be denied and change must come bringing with it other consequences in its train That change has sometimes been rather sudden and upsetting, but even otherwise those changes come, though more slowly

In a democratic society that is, where there is adult suffrage and some kind of parliamentary government, the means are provided for the change of function and even form to some extent But old established forms and vested interests resist change till it is forced down upon them by circumstances The 'establishment" is always resistant to any change whether it is religious, economic or social

# 8

LIVING IS A CONTINUAL ADJUSTMENT TO CHANGING CONDITIONS Every political economic or social form has a certain discipline There is the discipline of religion and that of social usage and these include a certain moral or spiritual discipline When functions and forms change the older disciplines are weakened and are gradually replaced by new disciplines The rapidity of technological change in the last half century has made the necessity of social change greater than ever and there is a continual maladjustment In the ancient days life was simpler and more in contact with Nature and there was time for reflection and meditation Now life becomes more and more complex and there is less and less of quiet thinking Even where there is leisure one does not know what to do with it

This problem of the use of leisure is gradually becoming a major one in the developed countries although it does not affect India at present and will not affect it in the foreseeable future A life divorced from Nature and more and more dependent upon mechanical devices begins to lose its savour and even the sense of function leaves it Moral and spiritual disciplines break up and some kind of disillusion follows with a feeling that something is wrong with our civilisation Some people talk of going back to Nature and to the simpler life of the ancient days But whatever virtue there was in this

there can obviously be no going back for the world has changed An individual may take to *sanyasa* with its renunciation of life but society as a whole cannot do so It has to base itself on an acceptance of life with all its problems and difficulties and try to make the most of it If it did not do so, it would perish

The advance of science and technology makes it definitely possible to solve most of the economic problems of the world and, in particular, to provide the primary necessities of life to everyone all over the world It holds the promise of higher standards and avenues of cultural development opening out Today the Welfare State and even a classless society are not the ideals of socialism only, but are accepted by capitalist countries also, even though the approaches are different Thus the basic ideals come nearer to each other and there is a possibility of approaching those objectives even though the methods might be different These methods will not only be based on some logical theories, but will have to depend upon the background and cultural development of a country or a community—geographical historical, religious, economic and social Any real change cannot easily be imposed It has to grow A country especially one with an old civilisation, has deep roots in the past, which cannot be pulled out without great harm even though many weeds in the form of harmful or out of date customs and institutions can and should be pulled out Even as Nature establishes some kind of an equilibrium which cannot be disturbed suddenly without untoward results appearing so also in a community or a country, it is not easy or desirable to upset old ways of living too suddenly The attempt to solve a problem in this way might well lead to graver and more difficult problems

This applies to the external world we live in, much more so does it apply to the inner life of human beings In dealing with tribal and somewhat primitive societies it is well known

that an attempt at too rapid a change has led to disastrous consequences The more developed societies may not suffer so much from rapid change but in the jet age and the coming age of space travel no one knows what biological and other changes may take place

If that is so externally then surely even greater changes would take place in the mind emotions and spirit of man Man today as never before in human history has to live with change as a permanent partner in his activities and his institutions Indeed he cannot keep pace with this change and though he uses the products of science and technology he seldom understands them Education is supposed to develop an integrated human being and to prepare young people to perform useful functions for society and to take part in collective life But when that society is changing from day to day it is difficult to know how to prepare and what to aim at There is a lack of harmony between a highly technical civilisation and the older forms of social life and the philosophy underlying them The relationship to Nature changes and even the relationship to ones own personality undergoes a change The value of human personality diminishes in a mechanical society The individual loses himself in the mass and tends to become merely an instrument in a complex set up which is constantly aiming at social and economic improvements of the group as a whole

Many of us attach great value to the development and the freedom of the individual Ideological backgrounds help or hinder in this process But perhaps the most potent factor in diminishing the value of individual personality is mechanisation and automation

# 9

WE SEE THE EFFECTS OF THESE RAPID TECHNOLOGICAL changes more especially in young men and women today Parents and educators and social workers are troubled because of the divergence between young people and adults The patterns of behaviour which were held by the adults are no longer accepted and there is a rejection of the old moral standards In extreme cases, there is a tendency to criminality alcoholism destructiveness eroticism in addition to cynical and negative attitude towards life and work In a world of constant change and without any assurance or certainty, the hedonistic principles of life have a strong appeal The continuity of national culture is threatened and a tendency towards social disintegration becomes evident

This is perhaps an extreme view and not quite a just estimate of what is happening today But there can be no doubt that these tendencies are present, more so in the developed and advanced societies than in India or other under-developed countries But it is important to note them because similar forces are likely to affect our life too Perhaps, all this is a necessary consequence of an age of rapid transition and a new base of civilisation fitting in with technology will be gradually created and with it will develop new ideologies new forms of collective life and indeed a broader philosophy of life

I do not know if this is considered too pessimistic a view of what is happening My own reaction to events in India or the world is not pessimistic and some faith which I cannot analyse or explain fills me with hope for the future Perhaps this is due to the good fortune that has attended me in a large measure The greatest good fortune has been the tremendous affection of the Indian people but even when I have gone abroad I have met with friendship and heart warming welcomes from the people everywhere Thus I have developed a great affection for and faith in our own people in India and also respect and affection for the peoples of other lands I have realised that what one gives one receives If one gives affection it comes back in abundant measure if it is hatred then we get that in return I have seen and felt that people everywhere yearn for peace and good will and cooperation If this is so as I believe it is then it should be possible for us to turn the tide of events from conflict to cooperation from thoughts of war to the works of peace

Fear I think is probably the greatest evil because out of fear rise conflict and violence Violence is a reaction to fear so also is untruth In our ancient writings it is said that the greatest gift that can be given is that of fearlessness—*Abhayadan* A person who is free from fear can view things in a right perspective and can preserve a certain integrity in mind and actions Today we see fear enveloping the world and even the greatest and most powerful nations are affected by it Wealth and power instead of lessening that element of fear actually increase it None of us except saints and supermen can become absolutely fearless But we can keep this ideal before us and try to achieve it Gandhiji s greatest contribution to India was to lessen this sense of fear among our people

Fearlessness leads to compassion and tolerance When we think of the Buddha it is his compassion that overwhelms us

when we think of Ashoka, it is his amazing toleration that pulls us up from our narrow creeds

The world is full of conflicts national, international and of race, religion, creed and class It is absurd to deny or ignore these conflicts, but we can approach them not by way of con flict, but by way of peace and thus seek to resolve them

# 10

INTERNATIONALLY THE MAJOR QUESTION TODAY IS THAT OF world peace This involves an attempt to solve the great problems and disputes which afflict us How a solution may come it is not for me to say But I think we should be clear in our minds as to the means we adopt and the way we tread to find the solution It is often said that the choice today is between war involving almost total annihilation and some peaceful solution of these problems If these are the alternatives then the choice is clear Having made that choice it should follow that everything that adds to the tensions of the world has to be avoided We must come to the firm conclusion that war today must be ruled out for it does not even promise victory or the fruits of victory To live on the verge of war and to practise brinkmanship is therefore the absence of wisdom Even though we may differ from each other we must refrain from angry criticisms and condemnations we must realise that it is absurd for any one group to call half the world evil or dominated by evil It is easy to criticise the capitalist world or the communist world but both have great virtues if they have also many failings and both tend to move in the same direction in spite of their inner conflicts and both are governed by the advance of science and technology The only course open is for us to accept the world as it is and develop toleration for each other The old conflicts of mutually exclusive religions gradually ended after bloody wars

and a new toleration grew up There is no reason why tole ration should also not grow up between rival economic and social theories Ultimately the facts of life will decide and influence both It should be open to each country to develop in its own way, learning from others and not being imposed on by them In this way, each ideology will influence the other and be influenced by it

Nationalism is a healthy and desirable state in a people, when suppressed, it reacts strongly, but when allied to too much power, it may become aggressive and chauvinistic Modern nationalism has been a reaction against foreign imperialisms and racialisms

Racialism still exists in varying degrees in many countries, but it is generally condemned Only in the Union of South Africa it is the accepted philosophy of the State It is clear that this is a terrible source of conflict and as it involves domination in its worst form, it must produce bitterness and strong reactions To leave this conflict to be decided by methods of violence is a counsel of despair, apart from the disastrous consequences which this would bring in its train It may be that world opinion against racialism will become so strong that no country or group will be able to advocate it or practise it

Imperialism or colonialism, whatever form it may take, is also completely out of place in the world and the source of conflict It exists still in many places and its philosophies influence many minds But it is a discredited creed and is everywhere on the defensive A world policy must therefore be to bring about the end of racialism and imperialism and leave countries to work out their own destinies This might lead to disorder and chaos in some countries, but that will be limited and not affect larger areas and will probably right itself after a while What is wrong and leads to dangerous

consequences today is the attempt of one country to impose its will on another

Military alliances and the cold war whatever their justification in the past lead today to insecurity and fear of war They prevent the normal development of countries and vitiate the atmosphere of the world So long as there is a cold war there will be no toleration Instead of under developed countries being helped to grow and raise standards military considerations come into play and often political regimes which are reactionary and disliked by the people are bolstered up thus adding further to insecurity

It is unrealistic to suggest that the troubles conflicts and passions of the world can be removed by some magic wand or pious phrases But it is totally realistic to recommend a course of action which tends to lessen tensions and ultimately does away with the probability of conflict Essentially this course of action is a new mental approach followed by political and economic policies in line with it The Panchsheel or the Five Principles about which so much has been said offer that approach but this approach can only be real if there is a change of mind and spirit and not merely the bandying of words which have lost meaning Peace is not a physical abstention from war but an attempt to create a climate of peace all over the world

# 11

In India we have attempted to follow this policy in international affairs though I cannot say that we have always been successful in doing so Foreign policies depend ultimately on internal conditions and developments Internal progress for us, therefore, becomes essential if we are to play any effective part in world affairs It is even more essential of course, for our own well being

After the First Five Year Plan and two years of the Second Plan, we have made definite progress in many directions, some obvious, others not so apparent The pace of progress has not been as rapid in some directions as we would have liked it to be, but let us remember that it has been solid and substantial progress Both in agriculture and industry that progress is evident and it is ultimately on this that our future will depend

Education is the base of this progress and considerable attention is being paid now both to the spread of basic education and technical education Millions of boys and girls are going through school and college courses and hundreds of thousands are being trained in Universities and technical institutes These figures are only a part of India's population and much remains to be done But even so, the numbers are large and as they come out of school and college, they bring a new outlook to the business of their lives Thus

slowly but inevitably our social patterns are changing The greatest and perhaps the most revolutionary change is through the enlargement of women s education It is these girls and young women who are influencing and will progressively change the whole life of the people of India For the present these changes have taken place more in cities and towns than in the rural areas but even our villages are being affected by them and in the course of another few years basic education will cover the entire school going age

Much is said in criticism of present-day education and nearly all of us have joined in criticising some aspects of it And yet the fact remains that education is spreading fast and changing the texture of our living

There is the problem of population There has been a remarkable increase in population all over the world and at this pace of increase it is expected that the world population may be anything between 3 500 and 5 000 million by the end of this century In India the estimates vary between 600 million and 680 million by the year 2000 A D The figure of 600 million is the least that we can expect provided we can check the pace of growth to some extent

There are two aspects of this growth of population The one with which we are most concerned is that it comes in the way of our economic advance and keeps standards low even though we might be making progress in other directions The other aspect is that this tremendous world growth of population is eating up the world s resources and industrial materials at a terrific pace If the entire world functions in this respect as the United States of America is doing today then probably by the end of the century all the essential materials in the world that are available today will be consumed That is of course unlikely but even if the rate of

consumption in other countries is much slower, the available materials cannot last for more than a few hundred years

Thus two consequences flow one is that we must check the rate of growth of population and the other we must find other power sources and materials Possibly the development of Atomic Energy will provide us with other sources of power We in India are most concerned with checking the growth of population and this has become a matter not only of impor tance but of urgency

## 12

THERE ARE TWO BASIC FACTS WHICH WE HAVE TO KEEP IN mind One the tremendous growth of productive capacity in some nations and consequently wealth and power as a result of the growth of science and technology The other is the great disparity between these wealthy and powerful nations and the under-developed nations This disparity tends to increase and in fact has increased considerably in recent years in spite of the efforts to raise the level of the under developed nations If normal economic and other forces are allowed full play they will make the rich nations richer and more powerful while the others will be struggling painfully to meet their basic needs Unto those that have more shall be given Even within a country the more developed areas tend to advance more than the other areas

As a result of this conflicts and dangers of war between nations arise and social unrest increases in the under-developed countries On the one hand power and wealth are sources of rivalry and conflict on the other poverty and misery also lead to upsets and conflict Both result in fear and insecurity Too much concentration of wealth and power does not bring security and prevents a proper understanding of the forces at play in the world These disparities whether between nations or within a nation therefore should be lessened

It is not possible to solve the problems of the nuclear age with the conventional approaches of yesterday Neither in politics nor in economics can those conventional ideas yield satisfactory results In international affairs, we see the lack of wisdom in carrying on a cold war with all its accompaniment of fear and hatred, when it is evident that this increases the dangers to humanity and cannot possibly lead to a solution Nuclear tests are carried on even when eminent scientists tell us that each such test has very harmful consequences in the present and for future generations Why then are these out-of-date policies pursued which have neither logic nor reason behind them, apart from any moral principle? One would expect an immediate and unanimous decision to stop all nuclear tests and to proceed with a progressive reduction of armaments Fear will prevent any kind of unilateral step, but reason should bring about bilateral arrangements which are to the advantage of every country

This same argument applies to economic theories and approaches, and there is little understanding of the dangers inherent in a world largely consisting of mass poverty with a relatively few affluent countries favourably circumstanced If it is urgently necessary for the under-developed countries to raise their standards it is equally necessary, from their own point of view, for the richer countries to speed up this process These problems of today belong to a new world and cannot be solved by the application of old world methods

It is a tragedy that colossal sums of money should be spent on armaments to the great detriment of social advance in the world It is an even greater tragedy that the climate of fear and unreason should continue when the way to understanding is open Understanding does not come through the military approach which can only lead to more fear and tension I am not blaming any particular country because to a greater or lesser extent all countries are in the grip of this climate

of fear and cannot wholly disentangle themselves from it All we can do is to try our utmost to change this climate in our own relations with other countries

In the early days of capitalism and indeed to a large extent even now the greatest stress was laid on production That was necessary then But it became increasingly evident that production by itself does not solve our problems or lead to happiness and contentment The passion for riches for acquisition for more and more wealth tends to corrupt and to create jealousies and conflicts If the objective aimed at is social balance in a community or in the world at large production by itself does not achieve it Indeed it tends to create greater imbalances Thus the problem of equitable distribution and the right use of what is produced becomes important In the final analysis what is required is the wisdom how to live and make the most of life for oneself and for the community Economic policy can no longer be considered as some interpretation of Nature s law apart from human considerations or moral issues

## 15

I HAVE REFERRED TO THESE LARGER ISSUES REPEATEDLY because we cannot get away from them and they influence even our domestic problems We are so tied up with inherited ideas that it becomes difficult to consider our problems in their present day context Poverty is a degradation, and the obvious reaction is to get rid of it To talk of freedom in poverty is almost a contradiction in terms Worst of all, poverty tends to become self perpetuating But too much wealth and affluence whether in an individual or a society, has also its attendant evils which are becoming evident today The mere piling up of material riches may lead to an emptiness in the inner life of man

The socialist approach is certainly an economic one but it tries to take into consideration these other factors also There is a danger that socialism, while leading to affluence and even equitable distribution may still miss some of the significant features of life It is largely for this reason that stress becomes necessary on the individual

In India our problems today are essentially of economic development and higher standards of living We have deliberately laid down as our objective a socialist pattern of society, though we have not precisely defined it I think it is desirable to avoid precise definitions because they tend to

become dogmas and slogans which come in the way of clear thinking in a world which is rapidly changing But too much vagueness also comes in the way of effective action There have to be therefore definite goals and some clear notions as to how to reach them

I have suggested previously that each country should develop without any imposition from outside While help and advice should be welcomed imposition prevents healthy growth and creates conflict Therefore every country should be allowed to fashion its own policy provided it does not do injury to other countries as far as possible We must accept that none of us has monopoly of truth and also that what may suit us may not be suitable to others living in different conditions We must also accept that we have to live in this world with many things that we dislike and the only influence we should exercise is by our own conduct and policies and by friendly cooperation with others In spite of the great difference between rival ideologies today I believe that the points of similarity are growing and circumstances are bringing them nearer to each other If fear was not present and threats and compulsion not used this process of coming together will be hastened This means that broadly speaking the *status quo* must be accepted whether in the political or the economic sphere as between nations Problems requiring solution must be dealt with through peaceful methods

There are conflicts within a nation There is a difference however as in a democratic apparatus with adult suffrage those conflicts can be solved by normal constitutional methods On the whole religious conflicts do not take place now Racial conflicts are limited to a few areas in the world though the racial problem remains In India we have had most distressing spectacles of conflicts based on provincialism or linguism In the main however it is the conflict of class

interests that poses problems today, and in such cases vested interests are not easy to displace Yet we have seen in India powerful vested interests like those of the old Princes and of the big jagirdars, talukdars and zamindars solved by peaceful methods, even though that meant a break up of a well established system in favour of a privileged few While, therefore, we must recognise that there is class conflict, there is no reason why we should not deal with it through these peaceful methods They will only succeed, however, if we have a proper objective in view, clearly understood by the people

## 14

PERSONALLY I THINK THAT THE ACQUISITIVE SOCIETY WHICH is the base of capitalism is no longer suited to the present age. It may have been suitable in an earlier period and, undoubtedly, capitalism has great gains to its credit but the world has outgrown that stage. It is too complex and crowded and we sit almost on each other's threshold. We have to evolve, therefore, a higher order more in keeping with modern trends and conditions and involving not so much competition but much greater cooperation. Ultimately this should lead to a World State. This can only take place in an atmosphere of freedom for each national group to develop according to its likes without interfering with others.

While an acquisitive society based on the profit motive appears to be out of place in the new world that is growing up, it does not mean that there should be no incentives. Incentives will always be necessary though they may not be confined to financial benefits. We have to encourage the spirit of adventure, of invention and of taking risks in order to give an edge and substance to our lives. Private enterprise would still have a large field but even that should function in a different way and not purely in the acquisitive way. In India we have entered belatedly into the phase of industrial revolution. We have done so at a time when parts of the world are in the jet and nuclear age. We have thus, in effect,

to proceed simultaneously with both these revolutionary changes and this involves a tremendous burden We have accepted socialism as our goal not only because it seems to us right and beneficial, but because there is no other way for the solution of our economic problems It is sometimes said that rapid progress cannot take place by peaceful and democratic methods and that authoritarian and coercive methods have to be adopted I do not accept this proposition Indeed in India today any attempt to discard democratic methods would lead to disruption and would thus put an end to any immediate prospect of progress From the long term point of view also I believe in the dignity of the individual and in as large a measure of freedom for him as possible though in a complex society freedom has to be limited lest it injure others

The mighty task that we have undertaken demands the fullest cooperation from the masses of our people. That co-operation cannot come unless we put forward an objective which is acceptable to them and which promises them results The change we seek necessitates burdens on our people even those who can least bear them unless they realise that they are partners in the building up of a society which will bring them benefits they will not accept these burdens or give their full cooperation What is called free enterprise" will never appeal to the masses of our people, it will lead to the use of our resources often for purposes that are not of primary importance It will mean the exploitation of the profit motive in which the individual may be interested but not society as a whole.

The strongest urge in the world today is that of social justice and equality The old feudal system was based on the posses sion of land by a few and the others living on the verge of existence No one commends that system today So also many of the systems prevalent today have lost their hold and are not compatible with either people s thinking or scientific advance

more obvious Effective results will depend on the measure of the people s association with it Officials and trained personnel have importance but the real part will have to be played by the average farmer I think that a new spirit is spreading in our countryside as a result of this Community Development Scheme

Whether in land or in industry or in the governmental apparatus institutional changes become necessary from time to time as functions change and a new set of values will replace those that have governed the old acquisitive society based on the profit motive The changeover must take time for the problem before us is ultimately to change the thinking and activities of hundreds of millions of people and to do this democratically by their consent But the pace of change need not be slow and indeed circumstances will not allow of too much gradualness

## 16

INDIA TODAY PRESENTS A VERY MIXED PICTURE OF HOPE AND anguish, of remarkable advances and at the same time of inertia of a new spirit and also the dead hand of the past and of privilege, of an overall and growing unity and many disruptive tendencies Withal there is a great vitality and a ferment in people s minds and activities Perhaps we who live in the middle of this ever changing scene, do not always realise the full significance of all that is happening Often outsiders can make a better appraisal of this situation

It is a remarkable thing that a country and a people rooted in the remote past who have shown so much resistance to change in the past should now be marching forward rapidly and with resolute steps We are making history in India even though we might not be conscious of it

What will emerge from the labour and the tumults of the present generation? What will tomorrow's India be like, I cannot say I can only express my hopes and wishes Naturally, I want India to advance on the material plane to fulfil her Five Year Plans to raise the standards of living of her vast population I want the narrow conflicts of today in the name of religion or caste language or province to cease and a classless and casteless society to be built up where every individual has full opportunity to grow according to his worth

and ability In particular I hope that the curse of caste will be ended for there cannot be either democracy or socialism on the basis of caste

Four great religions have influenced India—two emerging from her own thought Hinduism and Buddhism and two coming from abroad but establishing themselves firmly in India Christianity and Islam Science today challenges the old concept of religion But if religion deals not with dogmas and ceremonials but rather with the higher things of life there should be no conflict with science or *inter se* between religions It might be the high privilege of India to help in bringing about this synthesis That would be in India s ancient tradition inscribed on Ashoka s Edicts Let us remember the message of Ashoka

The increase of spiritual strength is of many forms

But the root is the guarding of one s speech so as to avoid the extolling of one s own religion to the decrying of the religion of another or speaking lightly of it without occasion or relevance

As proper occasions arise persons of other religions should also be honoured suitably Acting in this manner one certainly exalts one s own religionist and also helps persons of other religions Acting in a contrary manner one injures one s own religion and also does disservice to the religions of others

One who reveres one s own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one s own religion and to glorify it over all other religions does injure one s own religion most certainly

In Ashoka s day religion covered all kinds of faith and

duty Today we do not quarrel over religion so much but over political and economic matters and ideologies But we might well follow Ashoka's advice in dealing with people who differ from us in politics or in economics There was no place for the cold war in Ashoka's mind There need be none today

Tomorrow's India will be what we make it by today's labours I have no doubt that India will progress industrially and otherwise, that she will advance in science and technology, that our people's standards will rise, that education will spread and that health conditions will be better, and that art and culture will enrich people's lives We have started on this pilgrimage with strong purpose and good heart and we shall reach the end of the journey, however long that might be

But what I am concerned with is not merely our material progress, but the quality and depth of our people Gaining power through industrial processes, will they lose themselves in the quest of individual wealth and soft living? That would be a tragedy, for that would be a negation of what India has stood for in the past and, I think, in the present times also as exemplified by Gandhi Power is necessary, but wisdom is essential It is only power with wisdom that is good

All of us now talk of and demand rights and privileges, but the teaching of the old *dharma* was about duties and obligations Rights follow duties discharged

Can we combine the progress of science and technology with this progress of the mind and spirit also? We cannot be untrue to science, because that represents the basic fact of life today Still less can we be untrue to those essential principles for which India has stood in the past throughout the ages Let us then pursue our path to industrial progress with all our strength and vigour and, at the same time, remember that

material riches without toleration and compassion and wisdom may well turn to dust and ashes Let us also remember that Blessed are the Peace makers

**1960**

*ARNOLD TOYNBEE*

# ONE WORLD AND INDIA

1

# THE NEED FOR WORLD UNITY

IN INVITING ME TO BE YOUR SECOND AZAD MEMORIAL LECturer, you have done me a very great honour What honour could be greater than to follow Shri Jawaharlal Nehru? I may add What intellectual undertaking could be more formidable than to try not to fall too far below the standard set by the Prime Minister's Inaugural Address? Besides doing me a great honour, you have also given me a great pleasure because I had the happiness of being received by Maulana Azad, here in New Delhi in 1956 and I carried away a lasting impression of his personality There are personalities that make their effect even in the course of a short meeting and Maulana Azad's personality was surely one of these But my strongest feeling while I was reading Shri Humayun Kabir's letter of invitation, was not my sense of pleasure, great though this was, and not my recognition that an unusual honour was being done to me Most of all, I was struck and touched by your having addressed your invitation to an Englishman

Everyone bears some responsibility for what is done by the Government of his own country One remains responsible in some degree for one's own Government's acts even if one is

opposing them Now here am I an Englishman speaking to this Indian audience at your invitation as your second Maulana Azad Lecturer And I am a citizen of a country whose public authorities in India put in prison your fellow countryman in whose memory this lectureship has been founded They did the same to your other fellow-country man who gave the Inaugural Address last year So my first thought on reading Shri Humayun Kabir s letter was This could only have happened in India And of course its having happened and happened to me has touched me deeply What I know of India and the Indian people makes me think that this invitation of yours to me was a characteristically Indian act It was also an act that gave me my cue for my subject Shri Humayun Kabir s letter had generously left the choice of subject entirely to me I quickly decided to offer the subject which you have accepted and which is therefore going to be my theme during these three days The spirit that inspired your invitation to me is I believe the special Indian contri bution to the great enterprise on which men and women of good will all over the World are engaged in our time

I am speaking as you will realise of the movement now astir in all mankind to live together for the first time in human history as a single family This enterprise is as ambitious as it is imperative To carry it to success many contributions will be needed—contributions of different kinds from different quarters One can see for instance what some of the West s contributions will have been The West will have provided the coming world-community with the techno logical framework without which it would be impossible to establish and maintain a community on this unprecedented ly large scal This Western gift of technology has been one of the fruits of the Western scientific method and outlook and this in turn has been one of the fruits of a liberal spirit that began to make itself felt in the West about three hundred years ago India s special contribution as I see it will have

been her large heartedness and broad mindedness This will have been a gift of priceless value to mankind in the new age into which mankind has now been launched by the West's special contribution to the unification of the World The West's prowess in technology has, as we put it poetically, 'annihilated distance' and has at the same time armed human hands, for the first time in history, with weapons capable of annihilating the human race With these terrible new weapons in our hands, we, the still un unified fractions of the human race, now find ourselves within point blank of each other We have fallen into this plight at a stage at which we are still more or less strangers to each other, notwithstanding our common humanity Mankind has never been in such danger of destruction since the date, part way through the Palaeolithic Age, at which our ancestors once and for all gained the upper hand over all non human nature on this planet except bacteria No non human living creatures—not lions and tigers, and not even bacteria and viruses—have ever been so dangerous to Man as Man himself has now come to be at this moment at which Man has got the better of bacteria too Man has got the better of bacteria, but not yet of himself, and he has now armed himself with weapons that make bacteria and tigers seem almost innocuous by comparison In this perilous situation, a spirit of reconciliation is mankind's most urgent need, and this I believe, is going to be recognised by future generations, in retrospect, as having been India's characteristic gift to a united human race

I have mentioned, in passing the West and its possible gifts I want to add a further word about the West in parenthesis, before I pass on to my main subject I have spoken of modern Western liberalism This is, I should say, a gift of which the West can properly be proud, and it has some fine deeds to its credit For instance, it moved my countrymen in the end to give up their rule over India and to hand the government of India over to the Indian people's

chosen leaders whom their British predecessors had previously imprisoned I feel proud of this act of Western liberalism though I recognise that the happy ending of an unhappy chapter of relations between our two countries was due to an interplay between Western liberalism and an Indian spirit of freedom from hate which was given a consummate expression in the crucial generation by the Mahatma Gandhi The liberal spirit on our part chimed in with the Gandhian spirit on India s part And you yourselves have signified your appreciation of Western liberalism by the biggest political decision that you have taken so far since you recovered your political independence You have chosen to adopt the democratic parliamentary constitutional Western system of self government

This is certainly the characteristic political expression of Western liberalism But Westerners have to face the truth that liberalism has never been the sole and exclusive Western philosophy of life Western liberalism was born in the seventeenth century as a moral reaction against the spirit of violence and hatred that had previously broken out in the West in a bout of atrocious Western civil wars the Catholic Protestant Wars of Religion And from the time of its birth till now liberalism has never gon unchallenged in the West itself Westerners of my age have lived through another atrocious bout of Western civil wars—the two wars that each started in Europe and each grew into a devastating world war In both those wars Western liberalism came within an ace of being forcibly suppressed by anti liberal Western hands So the West is Janus faced and its double face is the expression of a conflic in its soul between two incompatible outlooks and sets of values This is a truth that makes liberal Westerners wince We find it hard to face up to it But I realise that it is patent to the great non Western majority of mankind The West s two incompatible faces have both of them long been familiar to the Jews and more recently they

have become familiar to the peoples of Asia and Africa too In the light of the chapter of Western history that you have witnessed, and that I have lived through, in our time it is clear that Western liberalism cannot afford to take itself for granted Its price is eternal vigilance, like the price of the liberty that is its hard won objective

I will now come back to my main subject and here the first point that I want to open up today is the need for world unity

The reason why we need unity so urgently now is both sensational and commonplace It has been put curtly in the epigram One world or none', It is obvious to every politically conscious man and woman in the World today that, in the Atomic Age, if we do not now abolish war war is going to abolish us One is half ashamed to repeat something so trite as this, yet we cannot afford not to dwell on it so long as war continues to be a recognised institution and so long as human beings are willing to resort to it

Our present crisis about war is something that is not un familiar in human history There have been other social evils —slavery, for instance—with which mankind has put up for thousands of years on end because they have been deeply ingrained in human life without having proved fatal so far Inertia inclines human nature to resign itself to non lethal evils however awful these may be and we excuse our resig nation by persuading ourselves that an ancient evil must be congenital and by implication must be incurable by human efforts But, as we know, human affairs are never static Some particular institution may come by use and wont, to be taken as being a permanent feature in the social and cul tural landscape but always, sooner or later some subterranean upheaval makes the dormant volcano erupt When this happens mankind finds itself compelled belatedly and there-

fore against time to attempt what it has hitherto obstinately declared to be impossible We find ourselves compelled to root out the allegedly congenital evil and abolish it When it has come to be a choice between our abolishing it and its abolishing us we realise that we can no longer afford to take the line that it is incurable We have to make the attempt to cure it without letting ourselves be paralysed by our previous conviction that a cure was impossible This is the situation in which we find ourselves today in regard to war

Letting ourselves fall into situations like this is one of mankind s perennial follies Besides being foolish it is fool hardy and besides being that it is also unworthy of human nature Part of being human is to have hindsight and to convert this into foresight War made its first big kill as long ago as the third millennium B C In that millennium it wrecked the oldest of our civilisations the Sumerian and Akkadian Civilisation in what is now Iraq Yet we went on letting the institution of war survive for the next 4000 years while all the time the progress of technology was head ing towards the invention of the atomic weapon We have been given four thousand years warning and have thrown away one opportunity after another We have only our selves to blame for our present plight

In the realm of human affairs we make predictions at our peril yet there is one thing that is still more perilous and that is to shut our eyes to the future In order to live we have to guess My own guess for what little it is worth about the future of the ancient institution of war is that we are now going to succeed in abolishing it This could hardly be a more difficult feat than the abolition of slavery Slavery was an old and as deeply ingrained an evil as war is Yet we did succeed in abolishing slavery not very long ago More than once in the past mankind has saved itself from itself at the eleventh hour It is madness to go on dancing on the

edge of a precipice, but it is a bare victory for common sense to stop short just before one has gone over the edge

Abolishing war would involve setting up at least a rudimentary world-government The first world authority that it would be necessary for us to establish—and of course, also to endow with effective power—would be a central agency for controlling the production and the use of atomic energy Supposing that this much had been achieved, could we then afford to leave it at that? Surely not Surely we human beings can never afford to rest on our oars We cannot, because the solution of one problem is apt to create another The abolition of war, if achieved, would bring us sharply up against the population problem

Of course, this is not a new problem It is far older than the problems of war and slavery These are merely coeval with civilisation There could have been neither slavery nor war till human organisation had reached the civilisational level By contrast, the population problem is as old as mankind Indeed, it is as old as life itself What is new about it is that it has recently become mankind's own responsibility and has therefore begun to force itself on our attention

Till recently, mankind did not possess the power to regulate the size of the human populations of the planet in accordance with our human ideas and ideals We human beings place an absolute value on each one of us that is born into the World In our eyes, he or she is a person and, for us, the survival of the human race has a significance and a purpose only in so far as the persons in whom it is embodied have an opportunity of living a life that is a good one in personal terms On our man made scale of values, a person is an infinitely precious soul, not an expendable specimen of a species But Nature treats all specimens of her various species as being lavishly expendable and till lately we human

beings have had to look on impotently while Nature has gone on regulating the size of the planet's human population by the same method that she uses for regulating the number of the planet's rabbits, herrings and gnats. This is Nature's one and only method so long as Man leaves her to her own devices, and it is a method that is inhumanly wasteful and callous. Nature lets the specimens of a species be destroyed in myriads before they have lived out their lives to their natural terms, and she keeps the species going by making it breed in a still larger number of myriads.

For keeping down mankind's numbers while at the same time making mankind breed like rabbit-kind up to the limit Nature has had in her armoury three lethal weapons: famine, disease and war. And one of these, war, has been provided for Nature by human perversity.

One of Nature's own methods of pruning her species is to use animals of different species to prey on each other. In the case of the Palaeolithic Age, Man eluded Nature here by learning how not to be a prey for lions and tigers, and then Man perversely played into Nature's hands again by thinking of something that Nature had not devised and perhaps could not ever have devised except through the agency of human ingenuity. Man taught himself the art of preying on himself by inventing inter-human warfare and organising it more and more murderously. Man is a more efficient beast of prey than lions and tigers. He is more efficient even than bacteria. So the man-made weapon, war, has been Man's consolation prize to Nature for the loss of her own two home-made weapons that have been struck out of Nature's hands one after the other by human prowess. In the Palaeolithic Age we stopped Nature from slaughtering us by making us a prey for lions and tigers. In our own age we have also stopped her from slaughtering us by making us a prey for bacteria. This second human victory over Nature is more notable than

the first, because it has been more difficult to achieve Yet we are still doing Nature's work for her gratuitously and doing it, perhaps, more effectively than Nature ever did it unaided We are still maintaining the man made institution of war

Suppose, however that I am right in forecasting that we are going to abolish death through war, in succession to our recent achievement of reducing premature death through disease If we achieve this double victory over Nature we shall have entirely upset the natural balance between births and deaths in the case of the human race Though we have made two world wars in one life time, and though the second of the two ended less than fifteen years ago our recent success in reducing the toll of premature deaths by disease has already been enough to set human population increasing explosively, and this at a fast accelerating rate Our modern scientific discoveries in the realm of preventive medicine and our modern administrative organisation for making these discoveries bear fruit in the improvement of public health have been two of mankind's greatest triumphs up to date in our struggle to impose our own human purposes upon the working of Nature But these very triumphs make it impossible for us now to break off the engagement before we have consolidated our partial victory over Nature by completing it Now that we have partially succeeded in substituting a human method for the natural method of regulating the size of this planet's human population, we have brought ourselves face to face with a choice that we cannot evade making We can choose to complete our victory over Nature in this field by taking control over our human birth rate That is to say we *can deliberately reduce and limit the birth rate to the extent* required in order to bring this back into balance with the death rate, now that the death rate has been sensationally reduced by human action Alternatively we can go on leaving it to Nature to determine the birth rate, and if we make

this second choice our partial victory over Nature will be short lived More than that the human race itself is likely to be short lived in that event

Nature s way with the birth rate is to keep it running at a maximum because her way with the death rate is to keep this too running at a maximum Now that we have drastically reduced the death rate by human action the planet s human population will soar until the ratio between the birth rate and the death rate is eventually brought into balance again The one thing certain is that it will be brought back into balance sooner or later by one means or another No species of living creature on this planet ever has multiplied its numbers indefinitely or ever could do that There is a limit to the quantity of the material on the planet that is suitable for being made up into organisms The multiplication of the specimens of a species is always limited by external forces when the representatives of the species cannot or will not keep their numbers down by their own deliberate action The non human species are incapable of regulating their numbers by their own action Their numbers are and will continue to be limited for them either by Nature or by Man Man kind s numbers too are bound to be regulated but we human beings are in the unique position of having the option of doing the regulating ourselves instead of leaving it to be done to us by Nature

This choice which we have still to make is going to make all the difference for good or for evil to mankind s future Suppose that we choose to follow up the already achieved reduction of our death rate through disease Suppose that we go on to abolish death through war Suppose that we then perform the still more difficult feat of limiting our birth rate This is more difficult because it cannot be done just by agreement between governments It can be done only by thousands of millions of personal decisions taken by hundreds

of millions of wives and husbands And these human beings cannot be coerced into deciding to limit the number of their children They can only be led to doing it by education and persuasion, and this will take time But suppose that we manage to win the time that we shall need by enlisting the help of science in increasing the World's food supply up to the limit, and suppose that, by this means, we do succeed in taking the regulation of the planet's human population wholly into our own human hands If this comes to pass, it will open up quite new possibilities of translating into reality our ideals of what human life should be We shall be able to ensure, to every new fellow human being whom we bring into the World, the greatest possible opportunities for living a good life—and by 'good' I mean, of course, in this context, good in terms of our human values From our human stand point, this method of regulating the size of the planet's human population would make sense, because it would be treating each single human being who was brought into the World as a person who was infinitely precious for his own sake We should no longer be letting him or her be treated, in Nature's fashion, as a valueless specimen of a valuable species

And now let us consider the alternative choice before us If we leave it to Nature to go on dictating our birth rate to us—and we *are* still leaving this to Nature in most countries —then even the most consummate achievements of science in increasing our food supply will not avert the day of reckon ing, they will merely postpone it, and even this perhaps not for very long Nature will deliver a counter attack, and it will be a victorious one, for Nature still has left, up her sleeve, one lethal weapon of which Man cannot disarm her, and that is the weapon of famine If we go on leaving the birth rate to be dictated by Nature, a point will come at which she will let famine loose on us again, and famine will bring back with it both pestilence and war

This would be an unbearable defeat for Man and his humane ideals and purposes even if Man were still in his Pre Atomic Age After having half imposed our own humane method of regulating the size of the planet s human population we could not bear to relapse into having it regulated again by Nature s method We should be allowing ourselves to be depressed to the level of the rabbits and the herrings These non human fellow creatures of ours are generated and exterminated by the myriad without having the power to regulate their numbers for themselves in any less callous and less wasteful way But in this Atomic Age even this depressing future would not be open to mankind For the kind of war that a return of famine would bring back with it would not be the old bow and arrow or gun and shell warfare It would be warfare of the annihilating atomic kind So the choice before us is between a human and humane regulation of our birth rate and the self extermination of the human race through atomic warfare triggered off by famine

Speaking as I am to an audience here in New Delhi I need not labour my point that famine is still a live weapon in Nature s grim armoury In a *contemporary* Englishman s experience famine is a scourge that he knows of only at second hand His historians tell him that there has not been a famine in his own country within the last six hundred years There was not one even during the Second World War I myself for instance was working in England all through that war and was living on war time rations but I never once felt the pangs of hunger This local and temporary immunity dulls the imagination of the minority of the human race that has recently been enjoying it But I know very well that for you in this country famine is a vivid reality It still hovers over two-thirds of the human race like a kite and the date of its last swoop on Bengal is only a few years ago You here in India are I know taking very seriously the twin tasks of increasing the food supply and persuading parents to limit

the size of families Most appropriately, the present Director General of the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation is an experienced and distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service, Mr B R Sen And in the matter of working for a limitation of the number of births I suppose there is no government, and no people that is being more active about this today than the Indian people and government

So I have merely to make the point that a union of mankind in a single world community is called for by our need to solve the problem of food and population as well as by our need to abolish war The limitation of the birth rate in one country or in one continent only will not solve mankind's population problem Limitation has already been achieved in a number of Western countries, yet the size of the World's population continues to grow and this at a menacing rate To be effective, the movement for limiting the birth rate must be world wide Again for a scientific increase of food production to be effective, the whole food producing surface layer of the planet must be managed as a single economic unit and food produced at any place in the World must be brought to the mouths of any hungry people at any other place in the World Unless these organisational requirements are met science will be hamstrung in its efforts to gain time for us to bring the regulation of population fully under human control But these requirements are political They cannot be met unless the control over production and distribution of food is transferred from the hands of local governments to the hands of a world authority invested with paramount powers Combine this need with our need for a world authority to centralise the control of the production and the use of atomic energy and you have a need for world unity in the political form of world government

Thus in our time world unity and this at least partly in

the shape of certain particular political institutions is urgently needed for the self preservation of the human race This is of course an objective of supreme importance for every human being If the race does not survive there will be no more human beings and no more possibility of giving any human beings a life worth living The new danger to which our race is now exposed—the danger I mean of our being des troyed by our own hands—ought to inspire in us a new patriotism for mankind as a whole and this world patriotism ought to take precedence in our hearts and minds over our traditional attachments to this or that fraction of mankind After all if the whole destroys itself all the parts will perish in the act Thus the unification of mankind is a most neces sary aim Yet in the terms in which I have presented this aim so far the motives for devoting ourselves to it are utilitarian and it is one of the distinguishing marks of human nature that utilitarianism on however high a level is not enough for us By itself it is not a powerful enough motive to inspire human beings to achieve great and difficult things What is more if we did achieve these from utilitarian motives only we should find ourselves still spiritually un satisfied

What then is the fundamental non utilitarian motive moving mankind to learn to live together as a single family? The best statement of this motive that I happen to know is a line in a play written in the second century B C by a poet who was descended from Asian colonists in Africa but who spent his working life in Rome and wrote his works in Latin *Homo sum humani nihil a me alienum puto* I am a human being so nothing that is human is a matter of in difference to me This Latin poet s mother tongue was Punic or Phœnician and this language was practically identical with Hebrew So I am led on to recall a sentence in a book originally written in Hebrew by an anonymous Israelite author This famous sentence is in the form of a defiant

question 'Am I my brother's keeper?' It is Cain's first line of defence when he is being indicted by God for having murdered his brother Abel In the story as told in the Book of Genesis, the question answers itself The Lord assumes that the answer is in the affirmative, so, ignoring Cain's question, He goes straight on to delivering judgment on the murderer and passing sentence on him

Here we have a motive for unity that does not spring from temporary utilitarian considerations—not even from the most urgent and most respectable considerations of that matter-of-fact kind We are here in the presence of a motive of a different kind altogether It is a motive that has no motivation beyond itself and that does not need any, because it is intrinsically compelling It is also a motive that is as old as human nature and that will continue to hold good as long as there are any human beings alive We *are* each other's keepers, we *cannot* be indifferent to anything that concerns any of our fellow human beings We know that this is the truth, and we feel not just an obligation but an impulse to act on it No doubt, since the moment at which our pre human ancestors became human, every one of us has sinned more or less grievously against this inner light The unknown author of the passage in the Book of Genesis that I have cited dates the first murder as early as the second generation of mankind Our earliest historical records show human beings behaving with inhuman callousness towards each other, even in the intervals between their commissions of inhuman atrocities In our own generation we have committed atrocities as hideous as any on record Every one of us now alive bears some individual and personal responsibility for these sins, even if his or her measure of responsibility is very small One's personal share of the guilt may not be great, yet all these sins of ours against each other weigh on our consciences We know and feel that, in virtue of being fellow human beings

we ought to live with each other like members of a single family Here surely is the fundamental motive for fraternity

This sense of fraternity is inborn in all human beings whatever may have been the particular civilisation in which one happens to have been brought up People who have been brought up in the Indian tradition have a very wide range of sympathy In India it has been recognised for ages past that the bond of brotherhood is not confined to human beings but embraces all sentient beings of all kinds As I daresay you realise one of the first things that a Western visitor to India notices is that wild birds and wild animals too do not show the same fear of human beings that they show in Western countries They behave as if they did not expect human beings to do them any harm This confidence on these wild creatures part must be based on experience And the Indian wild birds and wild animals comparatively happy experience of the behaviour of human beings suggests that human beings in India do feel that the bond of brotherhood is not confined to brotherhood between human beings This ancient Indian awareness of the brotherhood of all living creatures antedates by several thousand years the recent scientific discovery that all forms of life on this planet including Man go back to a common origin This is one of the striking cases in which science has been anticipated by intuition

Indian literature of all periods abounds I am sure in classical expressions of this large hearted fellow feeling My failure to quote illustrations is due to ignorance Through ignorance I have had to illustrate my point from a Latin and a Hebrew classic and not from a Sanskrit or a Pali or a Tamil one But though I cannot quote an Indian text I can call an Indian witness to this innate sense of brotherhood which all of us feel but which not so many of us put into practice Ashoka is famous not just as an emperor There have been plenty of

emperors, good as well as bad So being an emperor does not, in itself, single a human being out for commemoration Ashoka is famous because he was an emperor who did put into practice our common human sense of fraternity He is justly recognised as being a morally outstanding figure, because the sovereign power that gives such an unusual opportunity for treating one's fellow creatures as one's brothers also makes it unusually tempting to disobey one's conscience and unusually difficult to act in accordance with it even if one has the will

Ashoka will continue to be remembered because he put conscience into practice in the exercise of his political power This is all the more notable considering that, unlike ourselves, Ashoka lived in the Pre Atomic Age and therefore did not have the obvious urgent utilitarian incentive that our generation of mankind has, to renounce the use of war as an instrument of national policy Waging war with even the deadliest of the weapons then at Man's disposal, Ashoka would have run no risk of getting his own subjects exterminated not to speak of bringing annihilation upon the human race as a whole He could have been sure of enjoying this material kind of impunity if, for instance, he had chosen to follow up his conquest of Kalinga by going on to conquer the southern tip of the Indian peninsula and the adjacent island of Ceylon To seize opportunities of rounding off their dominions by pushing forward to so-called 'natural frontiers' is one of the standing temptations besetting the rulers of states And in this case, Ashoka could have plausibly represented to himself that he would be waging war in the cause of peace He would be bestowing on a whole sub-continent the peace that comes from political unification

Instead of thinking and acting on these conventional lines of *raison d etat*, Ashoka, as we know, was moved to action of a very different kind He was moved—and this for the rest

of his life—by a moral revulsion against his crime of having incorporated Kalinga in the Maurya Empire by an aggressive war of conquest He was horrified at the spectacle of the wickedness and the suffering that he had let loose by his act of aggression He stood convicted in his conscience of having sinned against his sense of brotherhood and he responded by making a complete break with his dynasty s and every dynasty s traditional policy Ashoka s break with tradition was the more remarkable considering that the criminal policy of using war as an instrument for empire-building had not been peculiar to the Mauryas It had been common form for every ruler anywhere in the World who had had the power to practise it Ashoka s grandfather Chandragupta had had Alexander s bad example to incite him Alexander had had Cyrus s bad example and so on in a regressive chain of *Karma* back to the Egyptian and Sumerian empire-builders in the third millennium B C In contrast to these predecessors of his Ashoka devoted the rest of his life and the whole of his political power to putting his sense of brotherhood into action

In renouncing war Ashoka did not abandon the aim of unifying mankind but he pursued this aim thenceforth by missionary instead of military methods He did intervene in Ceylon and not only there but also in the vast tracts west of his empire s western frontiers that were being fought over in Ashoka s time by Alexander s pugnacious Macedonian Greek successors Ashoka intervened outside his empire s political frontiers by spreading knowledge of the beliefs and practices of Buddhism and he recognised no natural frontiers for his missionary activities short of the limits of the inhabited portion of the Earth s surf ce Today Buddhism has adherents all over Eastern Asia and the spiritual brotherhood among Buddhists has been and still is one of the great unifying forces in the World The sense of Buddhist brotherhood seems to be growing in strength today At least this

is the impression made on me, three years ago, when I visited what are, I suppose, the two chief Buddhist holy places on Indian soil Sarnath and Bodh Gaya The ubiquity and vitality of Buddhism can, of course, be traced to a number of causes, but one of these causes is certainly Ashoka's change of heart in the third century B C—his change of heart and his translation of this experience into action

Ashoka's actions also illustrate the point that, in India, the human sense of fraternity is not limited to a fellow feeling for other human beings If I am right, Ashoka abolished the Imperial Hunt, placed his court on a vegetarian diet, and made the slaughtering of animals illegal for his subjects on fifty six days in the year The strength of this large-hearted tradition in India is attested by the extraordinary fact that, 1800 years after Ashoka's day, the self same three measures—all reflecting an Indian recognition of a brotherhood with non human forms of life—were enacted by another emperor of India, Akbar

The Indian religious influence that moved Akbar to take these measures appears to have come from a Jain, not a Buddhist, source (Buddhism had lost its last foothold in India not much less than 400 years before Akbar's time) All the same, it was an Indian influence and what one might perhaps call the 'Indianisation' of Turkish Akbar's spirit in the course of his life in India is an impressive illustration of the Indian spiritual tradition's power to captivate foreigners when they come within its range Except for Timur's transitory raid, Akbar's forebears had not set foot on Indian soil till Akbar's own grandfather, Babur, had invaded India Babur himself had spent too large a part of his life west of the Khyber Pass ever to be able to feel at home on Indian ground As for Babur's grandson, Akbar had been brought up as a Muslim and Islam, like the other two religions of the Judaic family is exclusive-minded and intolerant by comparison

with the religions and philosophies of Indian origin Yet the influence of India on Akbar went so deep that he worked out for himself a religion of his own Akbar s Din Ilahi was characteristically Indian in its large-hearted catholicity

Though Akbar like Ashoka renounced war on animals he did not also make Ashoka s renunciation of war against human beings No doubt this would have been harder from a practical point of view for Akbar than it was for Ashoka Ashoka had inherited an empire whose authority was well established Akbar had refounded an empire which his father had lost after his grandfather had won it A renunciation of war against human beings would probably have cost Akbar his throne and might have cost him his life as well Yet we may guess that Ashoka would still have done what he did do if the accident of birth had put him in Akbar s place instead of in his own

In the Atomic Age the spirit that we need in our statesmen is surely Ashoka s spirit We can no longer do without unity But we can also no longer afford to pursue this indispensable objective by methods of coercion Conversion not coercion is in our day the only means that we can employ for uniting mankind In the Atomic Age the use of force would result not in union but in self-destruction In this age fear as well as conscience commands a policy that Ashoka in his time was inspired to follow by conscience alone

# THE MOVEMENT TOWARDS WORLD UNITY

IN MY FIRST LECTURE I WAS TALKING ABOUT THE URGENCY OF our need for world unity, and about the penalty of self-destruction that is lying in wait for us if we fail to meet this need in time Mankind today is living under the threat of annihilation that hangs over the physical universe according to one school of Ancient Greek philosophy—and, I believe, also according to more than one school of Indian philosophy In the words of an Epicurean philosopher the Roman poet, Lucretius 'the door of death is not closed It stands hideously open, and eyes us with gigantic jaws agape' In human life, as we know needs do not automatically bring about their own fulfilment—not even when existence itself is at stake So I must now discuss our prospects, and obviously these are uncertain One can do no more today than estimate very vaguely what would seem to be the favourable and the unfavourable factors in our present situation

Perhaps the first question that suggests itself is one that challenges the very title that I have given to the present lecture I have called it the movement towards world unity' But does not this title beg the whole question? Do not

current events show that so far from moving towards unity the World today is moving away from it and moving away fast?

On the political plane of action for instance what is the most conspicuous movement in our time? Is it not the break up of empires and the increase in the number of separate national states? This world wide centrifugal movement is illustrated dramatically by what has happened in this sub continent since 1947 The British regime in India like the previous Maurya Gupta and Mughal regimes had united the subcontinent politically under a single government Indeed during the last century of the British regime the political unification of the subcontinent had been more comprehensive than it had been in any of those three earlier spells of unity But when the British withdrew in 1947 the British Indian Empire was succeeded not by one state but by three The frontiers drawn between two of them—India and Pakistan—are as artificial and unnatural as any of those that were drawn in Eastern Europe after the break up of the Hapsburg Monarchy there in 1918 There is one disputed territory Kashmir over which no agreement has yet been reached And now inside India s undisputed frontiers a further centrifugal movement has set in The internal administrative map of the Indian Union has been redrawn with an eye to making the areas of the Union s constituent states coincide as closely as practicable with the respective domains of the various local languages

This too is a change of an East European kind It is an application in India of an East European ideology which one might label linguistic nationalism And in India as in Eastern Europe the redrawing of the political map with a view to satisfying the aspirations of this linguistic nationalism has caused friction and has generated grievances These unfortunate consequences have been unavoidable However

honestly and carefully one draws the new dividing lines there are bound to be some minorities left on the wrong side of them The problems thus created are also bound to be particularly acute in a great commercial and industrial city such as Bombay is, for example because a city on that scale attracts settlers from regions far beyond the bounds of the linguistic area in which the city happens to lie This contentious re partition of India on linguistic lines has, no doubt been inevitable It is something that has been happening all over the World It has been happening in Burma, for instance on a smaller scale It is inevitable because it is one of the necessary conditions for the working of democracy and, in our time democratic constitutions are being introduced in one country after another To make it possible for democracy to work effectively, political units have to be made to coincide with language-areas as closely as possible, because most people in the World speak and understand only their mother tongue, the bilingual and multi lingual people are still only a tiny minority of the World s population

Thus the present process of political fragmentation seems *to be a necessary one But the necessity does not make the* process any the less disruptive and the disruption, whether inevitable or not, is anyway patent So would it not be true to say that, so far from becoming more conscious of the unity of the human race, people all over the World today are becoming *more conscious of separateness* from each other? And it is not just a matter of consciousness the consciousness of separateness awakens nationalistic feelings In India, for instance, and also in Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon one of the sequels to independence has been the growth of an emotional attachment to one s own particular linguistic group and this is a new trouble in Asia, though it is one of the old troubles of Europe. Inside India in Bombay feelings have run fairly high between Maharashtrians and Gujaratis A *fortiori*, there are strong feelings between Indians and Pakis

that one after another of the newly independent peoples of the World has voluntarily and deliberately set for itself as soon as its political liberation has made it free once again to shape its own destiny On the political plane the liberated peoples nationalism has been directed against Western political domination but it has been directed against this in the name of Western political ideals These Western political ideals (I am referring of course to Western democracy not to its grim competitor Western totalitarianism) are derived from ethical principles that are common to all men and in the name of these same principles the national movements of the non Western peoples have been directed on the cultural plane against incompatible elements in their own cultural heritages

The current revolution in non Western countries is in fact a double one and of these two simultaneous revolutions the political revolt against Western rule is a mild and superficial movement by comparison with the Western inspired ethical revolt against pre modern domestic legacies from the past On this plane the newly independent peoples have immediately started to make radical changes in their traditional ways of life—changes that are far more radical than any that the foreign rulers of these countries under the previous colonial regime ever dreamed of attempting to introduce This break with a number of local ethical and cultural traditions is the great upheaval of our time and this radical revolution is leading mankind in the opposite direction to the tendency of the preliminary political revolution It is leading not away from unity but towards it Since civilisation counts for much more in human affairs than politics do I guess that the ethical and cultural current making for unity is going to prevail over the political current making for disruption

Even in the political plane the movement towards unity has declared itself when independence has been attained The

centrifugal political movement has been a revolt against being ruled or dominated by another nation, a foreign one But independence is not incompatible with interdependence and, indeed, when independence has been achieved, interdependence is found to be a need—and not only a need but a fact A nation starting out to manage its own affairs independently 'under the strenuous conditions of the modern world' finds *itself in need of all kinds of practical help and expert advice* The kind of help that it needs perhaps most of all is help in finding out how to help itself Newly independent nations are naturally sensitive about their independence to begin with They have a keen eye for possible affronts to it or infringements of it Yet this natural feeling has not deterred them from seeking the advice and help of the United Nations and its various agencies The disappearance of the former West European colonial empires has left a vacuum in the political organisation of the World which could not be wholly filled by the national governments of the vanished empires' successor states The new international organisations' function is to try to bridge this gap They and the new national governments, working together, can, between them, carry on the constructive part of the former colonial regime's activities And they can do more, and do it better, because the cooperation between them is not impeded by the political friction that there was between rulers and subjects under the previous colonial dispensation

The newly liberated countries have been the first to appreciate the value of the new international organisation's services but it can already be foreseen that these services are also going to become more and more important for countries that are relatively strong, rich, and well provided with experienced and public spirited citizens This can be foreseen because even the strongest and richest nation in the World is dwarfed by mankind as a whole and by the planet's aggregate resources, and in an age in which technology has as we say

and French speaking peoples are notoriously the worst linguists in the present-day world They are not I suppose inferior to the rest of the human race in native intellectual ability but they can make their way about the World without learning another language besides their mother tongue so they are tempted to give way to the natural laziness of human nature Hindi speakers will be exposed to the same temptation as Hindi progressively becomes a regional *lingua franca* for the Indian Union as a whole Their intellectual prospects are not so unpromising as those of English speakers are since Hindi speakers will still have to learn English French or Russian for world purpose But Hindi speakers must expect in future to be outstripped in intellectual prowess by speakers of the Dravidian languages For these will have to master Hindi in order to do business in New Delhi English in order to do business in New York or in Tokyo and French in order to do business in Saigon or in Leopoldville

If the human race does succeed in saving itself from self destruction as I believe it will our attitude and policy towards nationalism may eventually need some revising At the present moment we are struggling to build a world-community against time with the threat of self-destruction hanging over our heads if we fail or even if we are merely too slow in achieving success Since nationalism is the chief obstacle to world unity nationalism is mankind s Enemy Number One in the current chapter of the World s history and our present task is therefore to draw nationalism s teeth If however we do manage to establish a world-community its powers will be likely to go on increasing at the expense of the powers of the subordinated national units and we may come to a point at which instead of continuing to play nationalism down we may find ourselves anxious to keep it alive in order to keep enough life in the national units to make it possible for them to go on performing their useful functions. If their citizens were to cease to care about them and take an

interest in them, that would be the end of local variety in the World, besides being the end of local self government And a complete centralisation and a complete uniformity, on a world wide scale, would have a deplorably impoverishing effect on human life It would reduce to a handful the number of people in a position to make choices and to take initiatives

This danger is illustrated by what happened in the Roman Empire after the establishment of the Augustan Peace This great feat of constructive statesmanship snatched the Græco Roman Society out of the jaws of destruction The city states, which corresponded to the nation states of the Modern World, had nearly wrecked the Græco-Roman Civilisation by their incessant conflicts with each other They were now estopped from making war, but the intention was to leave them still possessed of the widest powers short of their much abused traditional prerogative of committing breaches of the World's peace There was still to be a maximum of local government and a minimum of world government This two-tier political structure was a promising experiment but its success depended on there being a corresponding balance between two allegiances a paramount allegiance to the Roman world state and a subordinate allegiance to one of the city states that were the municipal cells of the Roman imperial body politic During the first phase of the Roman Peace, this delicately balanced harmony of allegiances was achieved Saint Paul for instance, was proud of being a citizen of the Roman world-state and at the same time he was proud of also being a citizen of a local city state, Tarsus, which was his home town Gradually, however, the inhabitants of the Roman Empire lost interest in municipal affairs municipal government broke down, the central government had to take this over, in consequence it became top-heavy and this was one of the principal causes of the Roman Empire's eventual decline and fall This is an historical precedent that we can perhaps afford to ignore

at the moment while our own world-state is still in the making But tomorrow when our world-state has been successfully established we shall be wise to recollect this chapter of Roman history and to take it to heart

Meanwhile our current task—and it is an urgent one—is to bring the disruptive force of nationalism under control and to strengthen the tide in human affairs that is making towards world unity This immediate task of ours is a formidable one, and at times we may be tempted to give way to discouragement In such low spirited moods we can revive our courage by viewing the current chapter of the World's history in perspective When we look at this against the background of the past we see that the movement towards unity is as old as civilisation itself and that it has been gathering momentum in the course of the 5000 years that have run since the date of the rise of the earliest of the civilisations in South West Asia

The movement towards unity was given one great impetus by the advent about 2500 years ago of the earliest of the higher religions The supreme aim of the religions of this revolutionary kind has been to bring human beings into direct contact with absolute spiritual Reality and to help them to live in harmony with it But in pursuit of this transcendental aim of theirs these religions have had also to concern themselves incidentally with the organisation of human beings relations with each other When once a religion has set itself to bring human beings into direct communion with absolute spiritual Reality it cannot confine its operations within the framework of any single local community It must address itself to all human beings throughout the World and it must work out new methods and new institutions of its own for conducting its world wide spiritual mission

The pioneer human institutions on a world wide scale have been the ecclesiastical organisations of the missionary religions The pioneer experiments in making appeals to mankind in the mass have been those made by these religions propagandists The methods of propaganda invented by religious missionaries have been seized upon by politicians and salesmen and have been debased to serve their less exalted purposes But propa ganda is an ecclesiastical invention, as is testified by the word 'propaganda' itself It comes, of course, from the Roman Catholic Christian Church's *Congregatio de Propaganda Fide* a permanent ecclesiastical commission at Rome that is charged with the duty of spreading Roman Catholic Christianity all over the World As we know, the arts of propaganda can be and have been, abused—and this by their ecclesiastical inven tors as well as by the secular propagandists who have pirated these arts in order to exploit them for their own purposes Nevertheless, the technique of mass appeal is an indispensable part of the organisational apparatus of a world-community in a democratic age Since the task of building a world com munity on a democratic basis has fallen on our generation s shoulders, it is fortunate for us that we have at our disposal a cumulative experience in the use and abuse of propaganda over a span of about 2500 years up to date

We are also fortunate in not being the first generation that has ever embarked on the enterprise of uniting the whole human race The missionaries of the higher religions have pursued this aim consciously Three, at least, of these reli gions—namely Buddhism Christianity, and Islam—have each steadily kept before its eyes this goal of bringing all mankind into its fold None of them, so far, has attained this objec tive The fact that these three religions coexist, side by side today gives the measure of the distance by which each of them has fallen short of carrying out their identical pro-gramme Yet short of converting the whole World each of them has been successful in spreading over more than one

continent and this has been an extraordinary achievement considering that it antedates the recent annihilation of distance by modern technology In our present-day attempt to unite the World our already achieved success in harnessing the powers of inanimate nature has given us potent material instruments besides creating for us menacing material dangers The missionaries of the higher religions had no natural force at their command except wind power applied to navigation On land they had to depend on the muscle-power of human beings and of domesticated animals Yet with the aid of these rudimentary means of communication they succeeded in carrying their messages to the ends of the Earth

In setting out on their audacious enterprise of converting all mankind without commanding our modern means of communication the higher religions did at least enjoy the initial advantage of being given a good start This was given to them by the previous establishment of institutions of a different order the so-called world empires —incorrectly so-called inasmuch as these were not literally world wide any more than the missionary religions have been The world empires were not literally world wide but they did enforce peace and law and order over wide areas and this in some cases for several centuries on end without a relapse into disunity and anarchy And in addition to policing the sea routes and the land routes within their dominions they materially improved these by building ports for the sea traffic and equipping the roads with bridges and rest houses and relays of post horses

Each of the higher religions was able at some stage of its missionary work to take advantage of the facilities that one or other of the world-empires had provided Christianity found the Roman Empire s facilities so valuable that even in the Pre-Constantinian Age when Christianity was being alternately ignored and persecuted by the Roman Imperial

authorities, Christian theologians speculated that God, in the exercise of His providence, had perhaps arranged that the countries round the Mediterranean should be united politically under the Roman Peace on the eve of the birth of Jesus in Palestine This was not, of course, the picture as it was seen by the Roman authorities themselves The imperial facilities had been created by the Roman Empire and the other world empires for their own use They had not created these in order to help the missionary religions to spread Indeed, when their attention was caught by the missionary religions' activities, they set themselves, as often as not, to thwart them or even to suppress them altogether This was the Roman Empire's policy towards Christianity during the pre-Constantinian phase of their encounter with each other Even the Caliphate which had been created by Muslims and was ruled by Muslims, was not eager to promote the conversion to Islam of the surtax paying non Muslim majority of its subjects It preferred surtax payers to converts The attitude of the Persian Empire towards Zoroastrianism and Judaism was more benevolent and there are at least three world rulers—Ashoka Kanishka, and Constantine—who have each earned undying fame by becoming enthusiastic patrons of one of the world religions and deliberately mobilising the resources of his empire in support of it Ashoka made the Maurya Empire serve Theravada Buddhism Kanishka made the Kushan Empire serve Mahayana Buddhism Constantine made the Roman Empire serve Christianity

Thus the world-empires' furtherance of the world religions' purposes was in some cases unintentional and in other cases deliberate but, in any case the institutions of these two kinds were natural partners because they had important things in common The world religions and the world empires resembled each other in being attempts—though these on different planes—to unite the whole of mankind in a single all embracing community They also resembled each other in

being reactions to a disaster and in being constructive attempts to retrieve it

This antecedent disaster was the miscarriage of the early regional civilisations The cause of this miscarriage had been domestic conflict and the source of this conflict had been dis unity The early civilisations like our civilisation today had been partitioned on the political plane among a number of sovereign independent local states These states had been at liberty to go to war with each other and the wars into which they were drawn by the inevitable clashes between their respective local interests tended to become progressively more destructive The moral devastation was even greater than the material and it was much harder to repair The world empires were attempts to put a stop to this evil by a remedy that was on the same plane as the evil s superficial origin The empires imposed peace on the pugnacious local states by either liquidating them or subordinating them to one of their number which transformed itself into a world state by emerg ing from the series of inter state wars as the sole survivor The remedy sought by the world religions came nearer to the heart of the matter The founders and propagators of the world religions saw that the political source of ruinous inter state warfare had an ethical origin and that therefore the only effective cure would be one on the ethical level The cure that they found was to help men and women individually to enter into direct communion with absolute spiritual Reality and to live in harmony with it This spiritual quest is I believe common to all the higher religions though as we know they have differed from each other and differed greatly both in their visions of Reality and in their prescriptions for the leading of a holy life

I have already noted that none of the world religions and none of the world empires has ever so far become a world wide community in the literal sense of embracing the entire

living generation of mankind A literally world wide community has become a practical possibility—and at the same time an urgent necessity—for the first time in our day, when modern technology has succeeded in 'annihilating distance' In our present situation nothing short of union on a world wide scale can save the human race from self-destruction This task that confronts us in our time is as difficult as it is urgent We shall therefore be wise to help ourselves by learning and applying, any lessons that our predecessors experience seems to offer to us

One lesson is I think, clear In the Atomic Age, world unity on any plane cannot be achieved by the military method that was employed *by the founders of all the world-empires in* the past Even in the age of bow and arrow warfare, the moral and material cost of unifying the World politically by means of war and conquest was prohibitively high Every *time that unity was imposed by this method—even on the* less than world wide scale of these so-called world-empires—the society that condemned itself to this barbarous ordeal inflicted irreparable damage on itself in the process *A fortiori in the Atomic Age any attempt to unite mankind by force* would result, not in the union of mankind but in its self annihilation Therefore, today, the only practicable way of working for union—and this on the political plane among *others—is the missionary religions method of persuasion* In an age in which our political ideals are democratic and our society is gigantic persuasion is bound to use the technique of mass appeal that is to say, propaganda We shall have *to be on our guard to make sure that a technique which is so* open to abuse shall be used only in a legitimate way But the risk of illegitimate propaganda is a minor one compared to the risk of atomic war

Though the world religions and the world empires have all fallen far short of becoming literally world wide each of them

has been coextensive with the whole World in the subjective sense of seeming and feeling world wide to its adherents or subjects Hinduism Buddhism Islam and Christianity for instance have each been the world religion for Hindus Buddhists Muslims and Christians respectively though all these four religions have actually coexisted side by side Similarly the Chinese Empire was for its subjects all that is under Heaven at a time when the Roman Empire was for its subjects the whole inhabited world These two empires were both of them world states in the subjective sense though they were each others contemporaries on the face of the same planet Though each of them believed itself to be world-encompassing they coexisted for a quarter of a millennium without closer contact than an occasional brush between the tips of their respective antennæ Nevertheless it is worth our while to make a psychological study of the very genuine feeling of being members of a world-community that has played so important a part in the experience of the subjects of the world-empires and the adherents of the world religions Here we have foretastes of what it will feel like in the future to be a member of a united human family And this preview of our future situation has a practical interest for us The achievement of literally world wide union if and when we do achieve this will solve some of our problems but in solving these it is sure also to create new problems for us Some valuable light on these may be thrown for us by our predecessors experience

The world-empires and the world religions have been successive attempts to retrieve the disastrous miscarriage of the early regional civilisations and these would be remedies for social disaster are two milestones on the road towards the unification of mankind But it is not only the breakdown of civilisations that has propelled mankind towards unity The antecedent rise of the civilisations was itself the first step in

the movement towards unification to which the subsequent breakdowns of these civilisations gave a further impetus

I think it would be true to say that disunity is the prime cause of all the great disasters that mankind has inflicted on itself since civilisation began The cause of this disunity has been our unmitigated attachment to local roots—our unqualified allegiance to local communities This is still the chief obstacle to union today, when union has become more urgent than it has ever been before These inordinate local attachments are a survival—an obstinate and dangerous survival—of the conditions in which the more advanced part of the human race was living in the age immediately preceding the emergence of the earliest of the civilisations about 5000 years ago

The greatest revolution in the economic and social conditions of human life so far has been the invention of agriculture and the practice of agriculture has had the effect of chaining a woman to her yam patch and a man to his paddy field The food gatherers and hunters of the Pre Agricultural Age were relatively free from local attachments as the modern industrial worker also is In contrast to both the peasant is immobilised by the very nature of the work through which he makes his living For the peasant as you know well, his local village-community is his world His horizon is set by its narrow bounds And all the local communities of the Age of the Civilisations have been village-communities writ large Their citizens mentality has continued to be the mentality of the village even when these latter-day local communities have been on the scale of present-day India, China the Soviet Union and the United States

Civilisation has been a movement towards plucking up these local roots and thus setting human beings free for eventually achieving union—a union that cannot without

are being wrestled with today as Indian national problems by the people of India and by the Indian Government My third point is that in India there is an attitude towards life and an approach to the handling of human affairs that answer to the needs of the present situation—and this not only inside India but in the World as a whole I will discuss these points one by one

India s key position simply needs pointing out The facts speak for themselves so they need exposition only not demonstration India is the central link in a chain of regional civilisations that extends from Japan in the far north-east to Ireland in the far north west Between these two extremities the chain sags down southwards in a festoon that dips below the Equator in Indonesia This chain of comparatively ancient Old World civilisations had a name of its own in the Ancient Greek language The Greeks called it collectively the Oikoumene meaning the inhabited part of the World and they gradually became acquainted with its extent Since the time of the Alexandrian Greek geographer Ptolemy in the second century of the Christian Era the Oikoumene has of course greatly enlarged its area It has incorporated Russia Northern Europe the Americas Tropical Africa Australia New Zealand Today it embraces all the habitable and traversable parts of the Earth s surface and this includes almost the whole of its surface under modern technological conditions But throughout these changes India has retained the central position in which she found herself as soon as civilisation spread eastwards into China and westwards into Europe

It is not of course only in a geographical sense that India is in a key position At the present moment for instance it is widely recognised that India holds the balance in the world wide competition between rival ideologies Today the parliamentary form of democracy has a hold in Asia because

India has made this way of political life her own If India were to change her mind over this, the effect would be felt, not just in India itself, but all round the shores of the Indian Ocean and in the heart of Asia and Africa However, politics is one of the more superficial of Man's activities Religion cuts far deeper, and, at the religious level, India has not been a recipient, she has been a giver About half the total number of the living higher religions are of Indian origin About half the human race today adheres to either Hinduism or Buddhism India has also been a major force in the World's history in the very different field of economics Consider the economic history of the Persian Empire from the reign of Darius I onwards, of the Græco Roman World after the opening up of the sea route between the Indus delta and Egypt in the second century B C, of mediæval Christendom after the rise of Venice, and of the modern Western World since Vasco da Gama made his landfall at Calicut in each of these cases you will find that the story becomes intelligible only when you have taken into account the Indian factor in it As for the field of politics, India has been the site of no less than four of those empires that will, I believe be recognised in retrospect to have been experimental models for a world state in the literal sense Two of these the Maurya and the Gupta Empire, were built and maintained wholly by Indian hands and the Mughal and the British Empire in India, too could not have been either built or maintained if their non Indian originators had not been able to enlist the aid of Indian coadjutors on a large scale

I will touch next on some of those world wide problems of our time with which India, among other regions, is confronted, and which India is seeking to solve for herself in Indian ways The Indian handling of these common problems of mankind is a matter of great interest for the rest of the World, because the Indian approach and the Indian experience may be

instructive for people in other countries in which the same problems have to be grappled with

In my second lecture I said something about the agricultural phase of culture—labelled Neolithic by the archæologists—which immediately preceded the rise of the earliest of the civilisations in the Fertile Crescent in South West Asia When a new level of culture is achieved it does not abolish the preceding stratum It superposes itself on it and the older stratum remains in existence overlaid but not obliterat ed The civilisation of the past five thousand years has been carried on the Neolithic peasantry s backs It has weighed as heavily on them as the Pyramids built by peasant labour weigh upon the bosom of Mother Earth—the goddess whom the same hard working peasantry has made fruitful by its agricultural labours In the course of 5000 years the pea antry has become accustomed and indeed almost resigned to being exploited in order to provide for an urban ruling minority the amenities of a civilisation in which the produc tive peasantry has been given no share The World s peasantry has gone on living at a standard just above the starvation level while the surplus of its production has been wrung from it in order to create and destroy one civilisation after another The peasantry s depressing experience of life in the Age of the Civilisations has made them apathetic and passive They have learnt to take their hard life as they find it without dreaming of the possibility that they might have it in their power to change their life for the better by their own action

Till lately perhaps the peasants passivity was in consonance with the facts The prospect of an improvement in their condition did not dawn until the civilisation that had weighed on them like an incubus began at last to become economically productive instead of parasitic and this did not begin to happen until the outbreak of the Industrial Revo-

lution, not more than 200 years ago Technological advance has so far been achieved in spurts, with long intervals of technological stagnation in between The first of these spurts was the chipping of a stone into the earliest tool by some hominid or pre hominid predecessor of ours The next was the invention of agriculture, which, together with the domestication of animals brought the Neolithic culture into existence After that, in the transitional age that heralded the emergence of civilisation in the Old World, there was another spate of inventions for instance, the wheel, the sail, the plough, *metallurgy But the subsequent emergence of* civilisation was not a further technological revolution and was not accompanied by one It was of course a revolution and a prodigious one but the innovations that it made in human life were in the sphere not of technology, but of social and political organisation

Civilisation's political master stroke was its commandeering of the surplus of peasant production that was left over when the food producer had been allowed to retain just enough of his product to keep himself and his family alive Civilisation applied this commandeered surplus to the maintenance of a privileged minority of the population This minority was privileged in being exempted from taking a share in the daily round and common task of food production and manu facture and trade, on which the rest of the population was engaged full time The minority was thus given leisure for other pursuits, and a minority of this minority, which chose to spend its leisure on creative work has to its credit the achievements of civilisation up to date, while the majority of the same minority has to its discredit civilisation's crime and follies The pertinent point is however, that even the creative minority of the privileged minority of mankind in the Age of the Civilisations allowed technological progress to stand still for nearly 5000 years During those five millennia the leisured minority's hearts and minds were set on other things

for instance architecture the visual arts poetry astronomy war and sumptuous living for the few who could afford it The pyramids at Gizah and the palaces at Agra Peking and Versailles are political monuments of the ruling minority s spirit while its religious aspirations are represented by such monuments as Angkor Wat Borobudur the Altar and Temple of Heaven at Peking the cathedrals at Durham and Chartres and the exquisite buildings on the Acropolis at Athens (though these last were built with misappropriated funds levied on allies of Athens whom Athens had wrongfully reduced to the condition of subjects held down by force)

It is only within the last 200 years that the leisured minority created by civilisation has turned its attention seriously to technology It is only within our own lifetime that the consequent fresh spurt of technological advance has gone to lengths which are making it feasible at last to give a fair share in the amenities of civilisation to the whole of mankind

This is the present situation in the World as a whole and in India in particular A very large contingent of the World s hundreds of thousands of peasant village-communities is con tained within the frontiers of India and the noble enterprise of at last giving the peasantry their due has been taken in hand by the Indian people and their government During my last visit to India before this I had some glimpses of the working of the Community Development Plan in Bengal in the Tamil State and in the Panjab I imagine that the essen tial point in this enterprise is to help the peasantry to help themselves I also imagine that helping them to help them selves means primarily kindling in them fresh sparks of hope confidence determination and zest These are I suppose the necessary spiritual primings for firing the peasantry to make pioneer experiments in elementary material self help And these material improvements are in their turn a necessary

enabling condition for the achievement of further non material progress I have some idea of the immensity of the task to which India has here set her hand So great a revolution on so vast a scale is, no doubt, bound to suffer some disappointing delays and even set backs Meanwhile, the fortunes of your Community Development Plan in India are a matter of very great interest and concern to the rest of the World as well The World's eyes are fixed on what India is doing in this field, because India is trying to set the peasantry on the move again by stimulating them, not by coercing them India's success or failure in this enterprise will be an augury for the success or failure of the enterprise in the World as a whole, and the redemption of the World's too long exploited peasantry is one of the necessary preliminaries to the establishment of a genuine world community

The population problem is another major present-day world problem which is a regional Indian problem as well Population is increasing at an inordinate rate now as a result of our having succeeded in reducing the World's death rate without having achieved, up to date, a proportionate reduction of the birth rate I need not dwell on this problem today since I touched on it in my first lecture All that I need say further is that the Indian Government is surely to be congratulated on having set a good example to other governments The Indian Government has faced this problem frankly and has been taking practical action for trying to cope with it It is a titanic educational enterprise to try to convince millions of wives and husbands that they can, and should limit the number of their children The Government of India is embarking on this enterprise without letting itself be obstructed by superstition I hope this example will inspire other governments to summon up the courage to do the same There is a task here that mankind cannot afford to fight shy of

There is another problem that has been India's for perhaps more than 3000 years by now and that has become a world wide problem as a result of the overseas expansion of some of the North West European peoples within the last three centuries and a half I am speaking of course of the social and ethical problem created by the institution of apartheid—a Dutch counterpart of the Portuguese word caste and the Sanskrit word varna

The origin of this institution is evident It has been a consequence of sudden encounters between fractions of mankind differing markedly at the date of their meeting in their culture and in their physique This intermingling of peoples differing from each other in one or both of these two ways has been brought about in some cases by one community's conquering another and in other cases by one community's forcibly importing members of the other community as slaves. A classical example of intermingling through conquest is the progressive conquest of a large part of this sub-continent by Aryan speaking barbarians from Central Asia during and after the latter centuries of the second millennium B C. A classical example of intermingling through the importation of slaves is the colonisation of the south-eastern section of the United State during the quarter of a millennium ending in the civil war of 1861 5 In both these cases—and of course in other cases as well for instance in South Africa—the intermingled communities have been segregated by the fiat of whichever of them has been the dominant one Being dominant of course does not necessarily involve being either more numerou or more civilised The so-called Poor Whites in the United States and in South Africa might find it difficult to convince the rest of the World that they were more civilised than their fellow-countrymen of African origin and it looks as if the Aryan invaders of India must have been less civilised as well as less numerous than the heirs of the Indus Culture whom the Aryan conquerors reduced to the status

of an inferior caste The vast majority of the present population of this sub-continent must be descended from the Aryans' predecessors and victims, and can have in its veins few drops, or none of the Aryans' barbarian blood

I happen myself to be of doubly barbarian origin My family comes from one of those eastern counties of England that received a double dose of barbarian invasion after the collapse of the Roman Empire in the West As if the English barbarian invasion had not been enough of a calamity, this unfortunate derelict fragment of the Roman Empire suffered a second barbarian invasion at the hands of the Danes I am a bit of jetsam from the Danish second wave of barbarian invasion My surname gives tell-tale evidence of my Danish barbarian lineage Any members of this audience who happen to be Panjabis will have a fellow-feeling for me because the Panjab, like Lincolnshire has been drenched by more than one wave of Aryan-speaking and Iranian-speaking barbarian invaders

The Aryan-speaking and the Teutonic-speaking peoples are the two extreme wings of the huge Indo-European-speaking horde that has invaded the *Oikoumene* within the last three or four thousand years Why is it that these two groups, in particular, have been so acutely race-conscious? Why have they also been so illiberal in segregating themselves from their fellow-countrymen of other races, and depressing these to an inferior status, wherever the Teutons and the Aryas have had the power? Our common Teuton-Aryan race-consciousness cannot be a consequence of the common origin of our mother tongues There is no logical connexion between language and political behaviour, and anyway there are other peoples whose languages are Indo-European like ours but whose record in this matter of race-feeling is very much better than ours is I am thinking here particularly of the Latin-speaking peoples, and among them, above all, of

the Spaniards and the Portuguese These too have exposed themselves to the temptation to which the Teutons and the Aryas have succumbed The Spaniards and the Portuguese like us have conquered foreign populations that differed from them greatly in race and in culture and they too have imported African slaves as the American English speaking Teutons have done Yet in the same situation they have not behaved in the same inhuman way

I can illustrate my point from personal experiences I once had the honour of receiving a degree from the Rector of the University of Mexico He had not I believe any European blood in his veins but he was an eminent physicist and what is more a man with a distinguished character and a remarkable personality It was obvious to me that his pro fessors were proud to serve under him Most of them were of mixed race some may have been wholly European in origin but there was evidently a complete absence of race-consciousness in the relations between the professors and the Rector I have not visited Brazil but I saw something of the Brazilian delegation to the Paris peace conference of 1946 they and the British delegation on which I was serving were living in the same hotel I have also seen a battalion of the Brazilian Army in the international force in the Gaza strip in Palestine What I noticed about the Brazilians—both the soldiers and the civil servants—was that in this Portuguese speaking nation there was the same variety of racial make-up and the same freedom from race-consciousness and race-prejudice that I had observed in Mexico I have not visited Goa though I have met Goanese residents in India I should like to know something about race-relations in Goa too

What is the origin of the Spanish speaking and Portuguese-speaking peoples relative freedom from race-prejudice? Perhaps it is a legacy from the centuries during which most of what is now Spain and Portugal was under Muslim rule

Certainly the ruling Muslim minority there showed no race-prejudice in its dealings with its Latin subjects, and this liberality in matters of race is surely characteristic of Muslims everywhere If I am right, it is the influence of Islam that has moved the Sikhs to ignore caste distinctions The Spaniards and Portuguese may have learnt the same lesson from the same source Would it be fair to draw the following distinction between the social effects of Hinduism on the one hand and of Islam and Roman Catholic Christianity on the other? Islam and Catholicism break down the barriers of race feeling when peoples who differ in race become co religionists By contrast Hinduism does not divide its adherents so militantly as Islam and Christianity divide their adherents from the followers of other religions But Hinduism also does not unite Indians of different castes, as Islam, Christianity, and Sikhism do

Today there are two peoples in the World in which racial segregation is a problem One of them is Africa—that is to say, those African territories in which there is a dominant European minority in the population In South Africa, Central Africa, and Kenya, this minority is a Teutonic speaking one In Algeria, however, it is Latin speaking and I am sorry that the French and partly ex Spanish minority in Algeria is reacting in the Dutch and English way The other place where the problem is still serious is of course India

Under the British regime in India the descendants of the Aryan conquerors of India had the experience of being treated in more or less the same way in which their own ancestors had treated their conquered Indian subjects Perhaps this experience has been one of the things that have stimulated the people and the Government of India, since the transfer of power, to take this formidable problem in hand and to aim at nothing short of a thorough solution of it Not that India needed any prompting from outside. After all caste

distinctions were ignored 2500 years ago by the Buddha and the Buddha is I suppose the greatest of all Indians so far In our own time the greatest of all Indians has been the Mahatma Gandhi And when the Mahatma and the Buddha speak with one voice we are surely hearing the voice of India herself

It is a formidable undertaking to eradicate an institution that has been fortified by thousands of years of use and wont and that has come to be a part of daily life The prob lem has of course to be dealt with by legislation and I know something about the legislation that has been enacted I know that it is courageously radical But the race problem is like the population problem in being one that cannot be solved solely by governmental action In order to solve it millions of minds have to be convinced and millions of hearts have to be converted This is a huge task of self-education and it is bound to take time

In this connexion I recall with pleasure and with hope a visit that I paid in 1956 to the National Defence Academy in Shivaji s country in Maharashtra Caste-distinctions I found were ignored there deliberately and so I understood without this producing any friction I was particularly struck by the fact that the Commandant—a distinguished Indian soldier from the U P—was by religion a Muslim These were happy auguries for the success of India s present drive to solve the race problem within her own borders I believe you are going to solve it here and if you do the good effects will be felt not only in India but in Africa and North America as well

A fourth problem that is India s as well as the World s is the problem of linguistic nationalism I touched on this too yesterday and need not say much more about it now It is worth bearing in mind that the emergence of this prob-

lem is part of the price of the introduction of democracy, and it is also perhaps worth noticing that in this matter—which involves a potential threat to national unity—China has been more fortunate than India To begin with, a single language is spoken all over China, the local linguistic differences are no more than dialectical It is true that they are great enough to make it impossible for Chinese speaking different dialects to understand each other But a single dialect, the so called mandarin', is spoken everywhere except along the south east and south coasts Mandarin can have no competitor for the role of being accepted as the national language and the proportion of the total population that has to learn 'mandarin' artificially is small The great majority of Chinese speak it as their mother tongue In India, on the other hand the people who speak Hindi as their mother tongue do not have the same numerical preponderance in the total population and in the second place Hindi has no affinity at all with the Dravidian languages of the South Hindi is of course a member of the same family of languages as the English that I am speaking to you now and it is just as remote, linguistically from the Dravidian family as English is Considering these linguistic facts, it seems obvious that the Indian people cannot afford to let local linguistic nationalism get out of hand

It is now time for me to say something about the last of my three points I suggested, you may remember that there is as I see it a characteristic Indian attitude towards life and approach to the handling of human affairs I also suggested that these Indian ways may be of very great value to the World as a whole in the situation in which mankind now finds itself

One Indian virtue has impressed me greatly and touched me deeply is the Indian people's freedom from rancour When you, the people of India find yourselves forced to

struggle with other people—and there are situations in which this cannot be avoided—you manage so it seems to me to do this without letting yourselves fall into hating your adversaries A recent example is the spirit in which you conducted your successful struggle with my country for your country s independence And when once a struggle is over you certainly do not brood over the past or nurse grievances I could give quite a number of illustrations of this unresentful Indian spirit from my own experience but I need merely call attention to what is going on at this moment in this place An Englishman is speaking to you at your invitation in memory of an Indian of Muslim religion in whose honour you have founded this lectureship Well who have been the latest invaders of India? The English have been the latest of all the Muslim the latest but one

When on my last visit to Delhi I was standing by Gandhiji s shrine to pay reverence to him I was thinking to myself Has there ever been another case in which a leader in a successful struggle for political liberation has been a benefactor not only to his own people but also to the nation from whose rule he has helped his own people to free themselves? Gandhiji made it impossible for the people of my country to go on ruling India and at the same time he did this in a way that made it possible for the British to withdraw without irretrievable discredit or disgrace I should say that Gandhiji s service to my country has been not much less great than his service to his own country I do not think this is an exaggeration It is comparatively easy to take possession of an empire but it is fearfully difficult to give up possession when once it has been acquired When a government meets with resistance however legitimate morally it is so easy for it to fall into trying to maintain its authority by force and if once the struggle has taken a violent form there is no happy way out for either party and no creditable way either for the ruling party at any rate This has been one of

the commonest tragedies of history Gandhiji saved Britain, as well as India, from that, and he did it by inspiring the people of India to keep the struggle on a spiritual plane that was above the level of mere politics

A great soul is unique, he makes a contribution that no one else could have made to the achievement of mankind s spiritual objectives But he acts by moving other people, and, unless these are able and willing to respond to him in his own spirit, his greatness will not find its opportunity to come to full fruition Let us imagine that Gandhiji had been born, not in India, but in Ancient Greece The Ancient Greeks were passionate in their feelings and they acted on these passionate feelings recklessly By their unselfcontrolled violence, they brought to destruction the brilliant civilisation that they had created So I think even Gandhiji might have been considerably frustrated if he had had to do his work in Ancient Greece What I am suggesting is you see, that the triumph of non violent non cooperation has been a joint triumph of Gandhiji's spirit and the Indian people's spirit The two were in unison, and the spirit in the Indian people that responded to the spirit in Gandhi was the expression of a very old Indian tradition This spirit was already active in the sixth century B C it inspired the Buddha and Mahavira, as well as the Hindu saints and sages who were their contem poraries

Non violent revolution is I should say a characteristic Indian accomplishment Already, since its success in settling the political issue between India and Britain it has found a new field of action in India's domestic life I am referring of course, to the Bhudan movement And then, if one looks back into the past, one finds Ashoka acting in the same spirit, as I recalled in the first of these lectures One finds him substituting religious propaganda for military aggression as his instrument for unifying the World

As I have noted already Ashoka did not have the incentive of living in the Atomic Age Gandhiji did not have it either His life work had almost been completed and his policy of non violence had been consistently put into practice for many years past by the year 1945 in which the atom bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki But we who are still alive are now living in the full blast of the Atomic Age In this hurricane of annihilating material power mankind will not be able to save itself from self-destruction unless we all of us manage to practice non violence in our relations with our fellow men We have to practice it in the teeth of provocation—however wanton and however deliberate the provocation may seem in our eyes to be We all know how difficult this is You the people of India are finding it difficult at this moment in your relations with China But you have incurred a rather formidable obligation both to Gandhiji and to history—I mean the obligation to go on setting an Indian example of non violence to the rest of the World If India were ever to fail to live up to this Indian ideal which is the finest and therefore the most exacting legacy in your Indian heritage it would be a poor look-out for mankind as a whole So a great spiritual responsibility rests on India Your action whichever way it goes may do much towards giving the spirit of Man a decisive turn for better or for worse—and that means a turn towards self preservation or towards self-destruction seeing that we are now living in the Atomic Age

A spirit of non violence is a state of feeling inspired by a moral ideal But every moral ideal is bound up with some corresponding intellectual outlook And the Indian outlook that as I see it is the intellectual counterpart of the Indian spirit of non violence is a belief that for us human beings there is more than one approach to truth and to salvation By truth I mean a glimpse of absolute spiritual Reality By

salvation' I mean attaining harmony in some degree with Reality when one has had a vision of Reality

This broad minded approach to Reality is I believe characteristic of India If I am right, a devout and zealous Shaiva and a devout and zealous Vaishnava would each recognise that the other was seeking truth and salvation in his own way, each might *perhaps claim that his own way was the* better one, at any rate for himself But he would not maintain that his own way was the only way that had any truth or virtue in it He would not contend that his neighbour's way was utterly false and vicious He would not dismiss it as being not Hinduism or as being not religion at all Nor would he maintain that his own form of religion had been revealed, once for all at some particular time and place Let me imagine a Shaiva Brahman who prided himself on the purity of his Aryan descent, being told in tactless language by an archaeologist that the god now known as Shiva had been worshipped in India already in the Age of *the Indus* Culture of Mohenjo-daro *and* Harappa, *centuries* before the first Arya had set foot in India and before the first Brahman had performed the first Brahmanical rite here I do not believe that my imaginary Shaiva Brahman would feel as sore and as upset as even the most liberal minded orthodox Christian cleric would be likely to feel if another tactless archaeologist were to tell *him* that centuries before Jesus was crucified the god who voluntarily *sacrificed* his life for Man s salvation had been worshipped in South West Asia and in Egypt—and eventually in Scandinavia too—under the various names Tammuz Adonis Osiris Attis Balder

*If, again, I am right this broad minded Indian mental out*look in matters of religion is shared with Hinduism by Buddhism If this is true it is remarkable considering that the Buddha s followers do attribute to the Buddha a claim to have discovered *the* way of spiritual release for all mankind

*This* claim that Buddhism is the only right way might look like something Christian or Muslim Nevertheless Buddhist practice has been broad minded in the characteristic Indian way One can verify this in Eastern Asia today In Japan most people are both Buddhists and Shintoists They resort to Shinto for a marriage service and to Buddhism for a funeral service The two religions coexist and they live together amicably In pre-Communist China most people used to be Buddhists Taoists and Confucianists simultaneously North East Asian Buddhism is of course the Mahayana In the South East Asian countries including Ceylon Theravada Buddhism is the national religion in the sense in which Christianity can be called the national religion of Britain and Islam of Egypt Yet in practice Theravada Buddhism has been I should say at least as receptive of the previous religions of the land as Roman Catholic Christianity has been in let us say Italy

*Christianity* has been more receptive of previous religions than its official representatives care to admit Yet in spite of this mitigating touch of Hindu mindedness Christianity presents a contrast to the religions and philosophies of Indian origin in being on the whole exclusive minded and intolerant hearted Most Christians believe that their own religion has a monopoly of truth and salvation some Christians feel hostility towards other religions and some of these again have put this Christian belief and Christian feeling into action in times past by trying to wipe other religions off the map In showing this militant aggressive temper Christianity is not unique The same temper is characteristic of all those living religions and ideologies that have arisen in the section of the *Oikoumene* that lies to the west of India Intolerance is common to Christianity Islam Judaism and Zoroastrianism and also to the modern Western ideologies that have sprung up in a post Christian environment I mean Fascism Nazi ism Communism I believe the Zoroastrians

have grown out of their original militancy since they migrated to India. Militancy has been shed by some Christians too, of course. I am thinking particularly of the Quakers, with whom Gandhiji, I believe, felt some spiritual affinity. But, on the whole, aggressive militancy is, I am afraid, characteristic of all the religions of the trans-Indus family, in contrast to the catholicity of Indian religion and philosophy.

'The heart of so great a mystery cannot be reached by one road only.' Do you remember which of India's religious geniuses it was who wrote those words? Was it Shankaracharya? Was it Ramanujacharya? Was it Guru Nanak? But you will have seen through the trick that I am pretending to play on you. If the author of the sentence that I have just quoted *had* been an Indian, the saying would have been thoroughly in keeping with the Indian spiritual tradition. But, in fact, he was not an Indian saint or sage: he was a fourth-century A.D. Roman Senator, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus. In Symmachus's time, Christianity was already the official religion of the Roman Empire, but Symmachus himself had not become a Christian, and the sentence of his that I have quoted was written by him in the course of a correspondence that he was having with the Christian bishop Ambrose of Milan. In the last decade but one of the fourth century of the Christian era the Christian Roman Imperial Government was systematically stamping out all non-Christian forms of religion throughout its dominions. Symmachus was the non-Christian party's spokesman. The religious struggle was brought to a point by the Government's deciding to remove from the Senate House at Rome a statue and altar of the goddess Victory which Julius Cæsar had placed there more than four hundred years back. Ambrose was insisting that they should be removed. Symmachus was pleading that they should be respected and be spared. Ambrose won. He had the Government's ear, and he had the whole force of its power behind him. Symmachus's memorable words did not

save the pre-Christian religions of the Mediterranean World from being suppressed but the words have gone on echoing down the centuries and neither Ambrose nor any of his successors has given Symmachus an adequate answer The Roman Government s resort to force was no answer I cannot imagine Ashoka doing what the Roman Emperors Gratian and Theodosius did

You will have taken my point Symmachus s words expressed the spirit of the pre Christian religions of the Mediterranean World It was the broad minded and large hearted spirit that also animates Hinduism I happen to have been educated in the pre Christian literature and culture of Greece and Rome In some ways I feel more at home with this Græco-Roman way of life that Christians call paganism than I feel with Christianity though Christianity is my ancestral religion And in so far as I am at home with the pre Christian religion and philosophy of the Græco Roman World I also find myself at home with Hinduism and Buddhism My familiarity and sympathy with pre Christian Græco-Roman religion gives me a key to the understanding of present-day religion in India and in Eastern Asia Now in the regions west of India Christianity and Islam have long since suppressed the earlier religions that once stood there for mutual toleration In China too today the three religions and philosophies—one of them of Indian origin—that used to coexist in China are perhaps in danger of being suppressed by Communism a Western ideology that has sprung from Christian soil Today the large hearted broad minded religious spirit that was once almost world wide survives in India almost alone So it looks as if it were now laid upon India to preserve this spiritual heritage as a common treasure for mankind—a treasure of inestimable value in the Atomic Age

India is not only the heir of her own religious tradition

she is also the residuary legatee of the Ancient Mediterranean World's religious tradition You hold a brief for Symmachus as well as for Ashoka, and you have faithfully executed this trust in framing the Indian Union's constitution since independence You *have not made the mistake that was made* by the Roman Emperor Theodosius in the fourth century of the Christian Era and by the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in the seventeenth century You have not made Hinduism the official religion of the Indian Union You have established a secular regime, in which the adherents of all religions are on an equal footing with each other Hinduism has refrained from insisting on being given a privileged status, and in this act of self denial it has, I should say, been strikingly true to its own spirit

As I have been speaking some vivid visual memories have been flashing up in my mind's eye One of these is a mental picture of the principal square in the Polish city of Warsaw some time in the late nineteen twenties In the course of the first Russian occupation of Warsaw (1814 1915) the Russians had built an Eastern Orthodox Christian cathedral on this central spot in the city that had been the capital of the once independent Roman Catholic Christian country Poland The Russians had done this to give the Poles a continuous ocular demonstration that the Russians were now their masters After the reestablishment of Poland s independence in 1918 the Poles had pulled this cathedral down The demolition had been completed just before the date of my visit I do not greatly blame the Polish Government for having pulled down that Russian church The purpose for which the Russians had built it had been not religious but political, and the purpose had also been intentionally offensive On the other hand I do greatly praise the Indian Government for *not* having pulled down Aurangzeb s mosques *I am thinking particularly of two that overlook the*

ghats of Banaras and of one that crowns Krishna s hill at Mathura

Aurangzeb s purpose in building those three mosques was the same intentionally offensive political purpose that moved the Russians to build their Orthodox cathedral in the city centre at Warsaw Those three mosques were intended to signify that an Islamic Government was reigning supreme even over Hinduism s holiest of holy places I must say that Aurangzeb had a veritable genius for picking out provocative sites Aurangzeb and Philip II of Spain are a pair They are incarnations of the gloomily fanatical vein in the Christian Muslim Jewish family of religions Aurangzeb—poor wretched misguided bad man—spent a lifetime of hard labour in raising massive monuments to his own discredit Perhaps the Poles were really kinder in destroying the Russians self-discrediting monument in Warsaw than you have been in sparing Aurangzeb s mosques Anyway it is Aurangzeb and not the Hindu holy ground on which his mosques are planted that suffers from their very conspicuous presence

If Maulana Azad had happened to be Aurangzeb s contemporary I wonder if he could have prevailed upon the Emperor to abandon a policy that brought his empire to ruin besides discrediting the emperor himself Aurangzeb did listen to ulama and there have always been liberal minded as well as narrowminded representatives of the Islamic theological faculty Unfortunately it was the wrong kind of ulama not the right kind whose promptings Aurangzeb chose to follow

Aurangzeb s mosques are not outstandingly beautiful works of Indian Muslim architecture But the standard of all Mughal works is high I have noticed the loving care with which the Indian archæological service looks after such

world famous masterpieces as the Taj Mahal and the forts at Agra and here in Shahjehanabad Not only the Islamic World but the whole World ought to feel grateful to India for this But the careful preservation of public monuments is perhaps not so meritorious when these are supremely beautiful as it is when they do not have this intrinsic appeal The British rulers of India followed their Muslim predecessors practice of perpetuating the memory of their fleeting presence by leaving monuments behind them Unfortunately for the British the style of their epoch in India was no longer the Mughal it was the Victorian Gothic If any of my country men still had a say in determining the policy of the Indian Ministry of Public Works, I suspect that they might press for the demolition of some of these Philistine reminders of the British phase in the history of India But not so the Indian authorities They are so far as I know, being as tender to these British monstrosities as they are to the Taj This particular example of Indian tolerance has moved me to admiration tempered by twinges of excruciation It is of course agreeable for the British that their former presence in India should be commemorated visually, but an Indian cricket field is, to my eye a less embarrassing visual record of Britain than, say, the railway station at Bombay

Well, I suppose these undemolished Victorian Gothic monuments of Britain's connexion with India do have some value for India They give a fantastic touch to the fabulous variety in unity that is a characteristic product of India s characteristic tolerance Anyway, I feel certain of one thing This Indian appreciation of variety is an object lesson of immense value for the rest of the World in our time I will venture to repeat just once more a point that I have kept on making We are living in an age in which technology has suddenly 'annihilated distance This has brought all the World's local cultures religions and races within point blank range of each other, with the atomic weapon now in

people s hands Physically we are now all neighbours but psychologically we are still strangers to each other We have never been so conscious of our variety as we are now that we have come to such close quarters How are we going to react? Are we going to let this consciousness of our variety make us fear and hate each other? In that event we should be dooming ourselves to wipe each other out Or are we going to learn to live together like a single family? This is the only alternative to mutual destruction but to achieve this high degree of amity we have to value the variety of our human heritage We have not merely to appreciate our neighbours distinctive contributions We have to love these as precious parts of mankind s common treasure And we have to love our neighbours themselves as precious members of a human family which is now exposed to the common danger of being wiped out by atomic warfare This is why India s conspicuous achievement of variety in unity is of world wide importance

I have one last point to make To my mind it is more important than any other G ndhiji had a vast amount of daily business to transact Under present-day conditions, that is the fate of any leader of any great movement Yet Gandhiji was never too busy to withdraw temporarily from business affairs for recurrent periods of contemplation If he had not made this his practice he would not I suppose have been able to go on doing his business because his spells of contemplation were the source of his inexhaustible spiritual strength In setting apart those time for contemplation Gandhiji was being true not only to himself but to India His practice on this point is something that is characteristic of the Indian tradition

Today the Indian people have many urgent and exacting practical tasks to carry out I am thinking for example of the mass of practical work required by the Community Deve-

lopment Plan The raising of the Indian peasantry's material standard of living is not a materialistic objective It is one of prime spiritual importance, because it is a necessary enabling condition for spiritual activity But Gandhiji's example shows that it is possible to do arduous practical work without allowing one s spiritual life to be smothered and choked by the cares of the World More than that, Gandhiji demonstrated that spiritual activity is the well spring *of practical activity, and that this inspiration is what makes* practical activity bear fruit and not work havoc

This is, I believe, the greatest lesson that India has to teach the present-day World Western Christendom did recognise and practice the virtue of contemplation to some extent in the Western Middle Ages Since then, we have almost entirely lost this spiritual art, and our loss is serious, because the art of contemplation is really another name for the art of living So now we turn to India This spiritual gift, that makes Man human, is still alive in Indian souls Go on giving the World Indian examples of it Nothing else can do so much to help mankind to save itself from self destruction

1961

*EARL C R ATTLEE*

# THE FUTURE OF UNITED NATIONS

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# THE FUTURE OF UNITED NATIONS

IN THE SPRING OF 1945 I WITH SIR ANTHONY EDEN AND other colleagues, Conservative, Labour and Liberal formed part of the gathering of statesmen at San Francisco called together while the second world war was still raging to try to work out a world organisation to establish peace on secure foundations It was of course not a fully representative gathering for necessarily the enemy powers were not represented Also it was predominantly an assemblage of states controlled by Europeans It was naturally dominated by the three greatest military Powers, the United States, Soviet Russia and the British Commonwealth It was felt that if these big three could be brought together in a permanent organisation there was a good hope of banishing the fear of another world war In considering the form, composition and power for the New World Authority we had before us the history of the League of Nations, its successes and its ultimate failure It was I think, clear to all of us that the League failed because it had not sufficient authority to act but many of us felt that it was not only power that was lacking but will During that Conference there was a short period in which it seemed that success might crown not only

our deliberations but the action of the great Powers when peace had been won I well recall sitting between Senator Vandenberg of the U S A and Mr Molotov of the U S.S R and time and again saying with them O K in happy agreement

That vision speedily vanished in the post war period

Instead of O K the Russians constantly used their right of veto to say NO a right which we optimistically had thought would be only used very rarely Our optimism proved to have no foundation The Powers on the Security Council which was designed as the instrument of preventing war have made it an arena of contention U N O like its predecessor the League of Nations has had many successes in the periphery of its activities but it has failed in its essential purpose to establish the rule of law Organisations such as the Food and Agriculture Organisation and the Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation have done notable work and all honour to the devoted men and women who serve in them but the fact remains that the major purpose of the United Nations remains as far from attainment as ever

Some disputes have been brought to the Court of International Justice at the Hague U N O intervention in the Near East prevented disturbances spreading and at the present time contingents of troops serving U N O and drawn from the smaller nations are engaged in an uncertain struggle to prevent the Congo State from relapsing into complete anarchy

Again by what can only be called a chance the temporary absence from the Security Council of the U.S.S R action to restrain an aggressor was undertaken in Korea a thing which was never accomplished by the League of Nations We may rejoice also at the growth of membership and especially in the advent of the representatives of so many African and

Asian States, but just as the League lacked the membership of the United States of America so U N O lacks the membership of Communist China with its six hundred millions of the human race No one can regard the present position of the United Nations as satisfactory and the fear of another world war far more destructive than its predecessors hangs over the world and must be present in the minds of all responsible statesmen

My task today is to consider the future of U N O, not as a prophet, for I have no pretensions to fill that role, but as a retired statesman who has held responsibility I shall try to show wherein lies the present weakness of U N O and what seems to me the only way in which it can be made effective But first I must call attention to certain features of the world situation which were not present when we conferred at San Francisco, features which had they then been known might have altered the planning of the edifice which we were attempting to build The first of these is the progress of scientific measures of waging war The atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb were unknown in the spring of 1945 The method of rocket propulsion was being employed against my own country but the idea that deadly weapons might be carried by these means not just across the twenty miles separating Britain and Europe but across the Atlantic Ocean or across the land mass of Europe were unthought of Whether scientists at that time who were engaged in research realised that large-scale atomic warfare might so poison the world as to destroy our civilisation I know not Certainly it did not enter into the minds of those planning a new order This is the greatest changed circumstance but there were others We still assumed the technical superiority of the Western democracies We had not anticipated the great advances made in Russia still less had we conceived of the emergence of China into the ranks of the great Powers True President Roosevelt insisted on her being a permanent mem

ber of the Security Council but I think he envisaged her merely as a protege of the United States Nor had we contemplated the tremendous advance in national self consciousness first in Asia and then in Africa the ending of colonialism and the long existing hegemony of Europe Even less had we contemplated the new Imperialism of the Russian Communists Thus we framed the Charter of the United Nations on the basis of the continued existence of a world of absolute sovereign States free from any other authority cooperating only voluntarily in promoting the rule of law Any attempt to put into the charter the compulsory submission of international disputes to a world court would not have been acceptable to any but the smaller and weaker States Any real attempt to disarm the world would have been opposed by those who trusted in their own strength In the United States there was still great support for a policy of isolation The U.S.S R considering itself as a State with a mission and profoundly suspicious of the Western world would not have agreed nor I think would Britain with its long tradition of trying to avoid entangling alliance a tradition from which it was always found necessary to depart in world crisis The young emerging States shaking off a foreign yoke would have hesitated before surrendering any particle of the freedom which they had achieved or hoped to win Despite the lessons of the violation of Belgium Holland and Norway pacific people like the Swiss still hoped that neutrality would save them from war

We in San Francisco were still living in the past in the pre-atomic age in the age of the balance of power Many are still living mentally in it today

Our world today lives in an uneasy peace owing to mutual fear of the consequences of a world conflagration while here and there little wars break out and armaments are piled up in a futile expectation of obtaining security Meanwhile

men of goodwill seek to make the United Nations effective although its faulty structure becomes more apparent day by day

The world today resembles a city built of wood and other combustible materials The citizens recognise the danger from fire and constantly discuss it, but the Town Council cannot bring itself to pass regulations restricting the use of heating and lighting methods Every citizen insists on his own method and will not accept any regulations about smoking or making bonfires or the like Nor will they have a regular fire brigade, but hope that when any fire occurs the neighbours will put it out before it gets really dangerous

We have then to consider the future of the United Nations in the light of world conditions today

First we must realise that the world is facing a situation entirely unprecedented It is nothing less than the survival of the human race or at any rate, that part of the human race which has built up civilisation as we know it Scientists tell us that in the great ice age, the human race was only saved from extinction because a proportion of men and women adapted themselves to new conditions Those who failed to do so perished That was a calamity caused by nature. Our danger today is one caused by the human race itself The first could not have been averted It is within our power to stop the second A world war is not inevitable It can only occur through the folly of human beings but should it occur everyone of us is in danger A hydrogen bomb makes no distinction between brown or white, pacifist or warmonger, neutral or belligerent

Therefore the future of the United Nations as an attempt to prevent war is of primary importance to everyone of us Every young man or young woman starting out in life should

not only ask himself or herself what am I going to do in the world and where am I going to live but will there be a world in which I can live

The second great fact a consequence of the first is that the whole world is closely linked as never before in the history of mankind as Wendell Wilkie proclaimed during the war There is today one world

When I was young it was perfectly possible for Britain an island State with a powerful navy to follow a policy of isolation As long as we had the most powerful navy in the world we were safe The United States separated from possible aggressors by great oceans was safe and could afford to be isolationist Degrees of safety were possible for other States Switzerland could rely on its mountains to deter aggression India secured by sea by the British Navy could feel that the mountains on the north and west and the great rivers on the east protected her from invasion Belgium was content with the guarantee of the leading European States which had held her safe for many decades

In these circumstances the conception of the absolute sovereignty of the State seemed to be a perfectly reasonable conception

But the conquest of the air changed the whole situation Frontiers hitherto inviolable could be crossed The strategic conception of lines of defence became out of date The first world war showed this but the fact was not appreciated France created the Maginot line British Governments stil thought in terms of national defence despite the cha conditions

The idea of the Absolute Sovereign Sta a i but men are apt to cling to myths

In San Francisco after the experience of two world wars and with the shadow of coming events clearly visible the assembled statesmen still clung to their myth They still conceived it possible to have a peaceful world consisting of a number of armed sovereign States without any authority over them *save an organisation operating on a voluntary basis* and based on the right of a State to veto decisions arrived at by a majority

What then of the future?

In considering any institution those desiring reforms will always be met by those who refuse to face facts There are those who say "It will last our time Others say Don't be in a hurry, the institution is new It will perhaps change in process of time"

I recall how often in the inter war period those of us who pleaded to make the League of Nations a reality were told wait a little "This is a very young organisation you cannot expect it to be strong enough yet to take effective action against aggression Wait a little ' But as case after case of aggression occurred *far from growing stronger the League got* weaker and weaker until it perished in the calamity which it had been created to avert

The idea that if only you wait things will get better is a survival of the old optimism that flourished in the nineteenth century I remember being told by the old men when the issue of India's freedom came up Go slow " they said, don t rush things Time will ease the problem ' I was convinced that action was needed that to delay would make the problem worse I did not share the easy optimism of Go slow There is a tide in the affairs of men which must be taken at the flood I see the future of the United Nations as a choice between letting things slide and taking vigorous and drastic

action now If the United Nations does not advance it will go back It will become less and less effective Sooner or later as with the League it will fail to meet a challenge Then a prominent member will leave The United Nations will perish with the civilisation that it was framed to preserve

My contention is that the alternative is to make the United Nations an effective instrument for maintaining the rule of law in the world The first step must be the abandonment of the conception of the absolute sovereign State The change of conception is an essential preliminary to any changes in composition or constitution

How dreadful say the old fashioned and the nationalists 'Do you mean that we British or we French or Americans mu t submit to the rule of foreigners Do you mean that we Asians and Africans who have only just won our freedom must give up part of it? My reply is Yes My State must be prepared to do what I and every citizen in a democracy does every day of his life give up my absolute right to do just what I please as an essential condition of living in close contact with my fellow men If I am prepared to go away and live in some desolate and remote spot with a mini mum contact with my fellow men I can do just what I please but if I live in New Delhi Bombay London or New York I submit to the rules laid down by the authorities I give up the right to carry arms and attack my enemies I also submit to many other regulations sanitary and the like My neigh bours do the same but I do not submit to the rule of my neighbour but only to an authority which I have myself joined to constitute.

I have to pay this price as a condition of living in a closely integrated society It is facts which restrict my freedom My cession of sovereignty is limited to what is necessary in the

interest of the community I retain my rights to regulate my home life as I choose

Now in the community of nations it has become of literally vital importance to restrict the liberty of the States States must not make war and they must not have armed forces

We already agree as members of U N O not to do the first and, theoretically, we are all in favour of disarmament although when it comes to practical policy we fail to agree

I have followed with interest numerous disarmament conferences where earnest men have made great efforts to reach agreement They have failed Why? Because they could not provide for security, in a world where there is no power to enforce the rule of law

In Britain over the centuries we have abolished private armies and local wars and there was of course opposition from the strong We do not allow the ordinary citizen to go armed and to take the law into his own hands We provide courts of justice not as an alternative to fighting but as a substitute excluding the right to fight it out We provide a police force to keep the peace and enforce the law We make laws which must be obeyed but we are careful not to allow our Government to intrude into matters which are essentially for the decision of the individual

The United Nations has no such authority I contend that it must go forward on the lines which every State finds essential in its own jurisdiction

I contend therefore that if the United Nations is to have a future it must assume some of the attributes of a State. The minimum attribute is the right, the power and the means to

keep the peace Primitive societies often have entrusted no more than this to their Governments

There is already the Hague Tribunal but reference to this is voluntary There have already been examples of a United Nations Police force up till now an ad hoc organisation There are many plans for disarmament but they are not implemented because there is no authority Why? Because the United Nations as at present constituted is not suitably constructed

Certain great Powers are given exceptional authority But States are recognised on the basis of sovereignty and their voting power has no reference to their population or to their power Membership is voluntary and one great powerful State Communist China with 600 millions is excluded First then U N O must be made world wide The exclusion of Communist China is nonsense

Secondly the Constitution of U N O must be made to conform to something more rational It would of course be conceivable to reconstitute U N O on a purely population basis but I do not think that this would be realistic One must recognise facts One is the existence of rival blocs with different ideologies Another is that the acceptance of the principle of one person one vote would lead to an impossibly large assembly or the virtual exclusion of the smaller units from any effective say It is possible to work out a system whereby every State would have a say but no group of States whether communist or democratic European Asian or American would be able to have an absolute majority Such a possible system has indeed been worked out in detail by two distinguished American jurists Messrs Clark and Sohn Under it States would be grouped according to population. The big four China Russia India and the U S.A would be Class One with say 30 votes each The next largest

Britain Brazil France Germany, Indonesia Pakistan would have say 15 votes each and so down to the smallest States which would have only one It would of course mean that the two largest groups would be under represented on a population basis and the smaller States over represented but the general effect would be to give more weight to those who stand outside the rival blocs which are in the struggle for power and whose rivalry threatens the peace of the world

This assembly should, with whatever regulations are necessary as to requisite majorities, have power to pass laws and to make decisions within the limited scope of what is necessary for peace It could choose an executive It could set up courts of justice, establish an international police force and promote total abolition of all national armaments down to the bare minimum needed for internal security The police force would be of a strength necessary to meet any potential disturbance and its members would owe sole allegiance to U N O U N O would also provide for inspection to see that disarmament was fully carried out in all countries

Disputes would have to be carried to the international courts of justice But it would have no power to interfere with the internal affairs of member States Anyone who has been concerned with international affairs knows how much the settlement of questions between States is bedevilled by obsolete strategic considerations Once disarmament was achieved many of these disputes could be settled I put these proposals forward as the minimum necessary for the survival of U N O and as giving in my view, the barest framework necessary within which the States of the world can continue in safety to live their own lives

You will say this is utopian, the dream of an amiable theorist, a constitution monger quite out of touch with the reality of the world situation

I reply that I am no theorist but an old retired politician who has as the responsible leader of a great democracy had to face great problems in a difficult period I believe that *the principles I advocate and their application in some form* are absolutely necessary if our civilisation is not to go down in ruin

You will say What chance is there of their being accepted? Will the communist countries submit to any measure of control by an authority in which those whom they believe to be their enemies take part? Will the United States consider joining in an organisation where authority will be shared with Red Chinese and Russians?

I reply that necessity makes strange bedfellows and that a common danger is a compelling power In World War I, the British who detested Tsarism had to join with Russia to defeat the Kaiser In World War II the Americans had to accept communist Russia as an ally to prevent the domination of the world by Hitler So we must all accept working with people with whom we do not agree as a price which we must pay for survival In autocracies people have to submit to the orders of people whom they detest In democracies after election we accept the rule of Governments of a different way of thinking from our own The Labour Government passed laws which Tories obeyed Labour men today accept the authority of a Conservative Government Further we do not and cannot demand that all our fellow citizens in our community should be as virtuous as we believe ourselves to be

What chance is there of such a plan as I suggest being accepted by communist Russia? Are they not bent on the destruction of what they call the capitalist world? Forty years ago or even thirty years ago I should have said very little chance But times are changing The leaders of Russia are realists and they know that while another world

war would destroy capitalism, it would also destroy communism Starting entirely afresh might have appealed to some in the past but not now Whatever view we may take of the communist system as practised in Russia, and no one dislikes it more than I do, it is impossible to deny that both Russia and China have made great advance on the material plane They have now much to lose by war They are confident that on its merits communism will win Mr Khrushchov has abandoned the old communist thesis that the victory of communism could only be attained by war He has proclaimed that coexistence is possible. Though it seems that just now the rulers of China are tending to yield to the fatal tendency of most nationalist movements to yield to imperialism, I do not think that this will prevail The Chinese are an eminently sensible people. I am not banking on a change of heart, but on enlightened self interest The United States Government having backed the wrong horse in Chiang Kai shek have been very averse from changing their policy but here too I believe common sense will prevail

The greatest obstacle to change is inertia and a clinging to out of date ideas

It is an accident of history that the part of the human race that has been deminant during the past centuries should live in a continent of sovereign States and thus we think that this is normal

It is an accident of history, as I have often pointed out to my American friends, that the great area of the United States is united But for the stupidity of George III and his ministers the American colonies might never have come together, but have grown apart and developed into a number of separate States as quarrelsome as those of Europe It is an accident of history, British rule, which prevented India developing into a

number of separate States jealously cherishing their differences.

Actually in the world today few States avoid some measure of commitments to others Britain has obligations to NATO and SEATO France and other States belong to the Common Market in Europe There is really no difference in principle in accepting the authority of a reformed U N O than there is in accepting the restrictions of these treaties

I am certain that the great majority of the peoples of the world whether they live in free countries or totalitarian States dread war and would give much to have this fear taken away from them The problem is how to make this general desire effective How can we get an initiative? I have travelled widely and discussed the problem with many leading Statesmen I do not find hostility but only an unwillingness to take the initiative

If the representative of some country preferably one of what are called the uncommitted countries, were to make proposals in the United Nations I believe a start could be made

An obviously desirable step is the formation of an international police force I recall between the wars advocating this in agreement with Sir Winston Churchill for these things transcend Party differences We see before us in the Congo all the difficulties that arise in trying to form a force made up of contingents from national armies Had there been in existence a real force of men owing allegiance to the United Nations I believe that the present situation in the Congo would not have arisen But even had this force been formed as was intended at San Francisco the question of its control would still have had to be settled I do not think that it could be left to the Security Council first because of its

limited membership and, secondly, because owing to the veto it is liable to frustration

I hold therefore, that it is essential and urgent that an initiative for the reform of U N O should be undertaken Till this is done Disarmament Conferences will just be beating the air for all effective plans for disarmament require an authority to inspect in the various countries which are signatories That authority does not yet exist

I do not think that this is a matter which can wait It is true that a precarious peace reigns today but at any moment some incident might upset it I have had myself to experience anxious days during the blockade of Berlin and the Korean war

One last point I may be asked, But if you reform U N O and make it effective will you not have to make it on the basis of things as they are? Will you not be stabilising oppression? The oppression of the Poles the Hungarians and the Czechs, the oppression of the Tibetans by the Chinese? My answer is "Yes but does anyone support that these evils can be remedied by a world war? Is anyone prepared to run such a hazard? Take away strategic considerations and there will be a far better chance for these peoples to recover their freedom "

The Thirty Years War in Europe was ended by the peace of Westphalia the Napoleonic wars were ended by the peace of Versailles Both stabilised many injustices and anomalies which took much time to straighten out but these treaties were preferable to war It will no doubt take time to adjust many of the evils that exist today but even the continuance of the evils is preferable to another war

Ladies and Gentlemen I am an old man I have in my

time seen vast changes for which I hoped and worked when I was young actually come about I have seen in my own country mass poverty disappear I have seen an Empire changed into a Commonwealth It may well be that I shall not live to see the rule of law established in the world and war banished for ever but while I have strength I shall do what little I can to bring about the day when as our poet Tennyson saw prophetically 'When the war drum throbs no longer and the battleflags are furled in the Parliament of man the Federation of the world

2

# THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY

I AM GOING TO SPEAK TO YOU TODAY ON THE FUTURE OF democracy I am not a prophet Only speculation is all that I can give you Now, if I were a learned man I should begin by attempting to define democracy But I shall not try that Democracy to my mind is a way of life that expresses itself in many ways in different countries If I go to a country, although I can't define exactly what its Constitution is, I can tell whether it is a democracy or not It was my fortune to stray across into Germany under Hitler where I felt at once there was no democracy there I have been to Russia once or twice, there is no democracy there I come to a place like New Zealand and Australia At once I am in a democratic atmosphere I come to India I am in a democratic atmosphere Now most of us agree today that there is a great ideological contest going on in the world between the democratic way of life and the authoritarian way of life

Looking back a bit as old people like me tend to do I recall my early days when at the University one studied Political Science and was told about democratic constitutions oligarchic constitutions, and mixed constitutions and all the

themselves not being as advanced as France and Britain and the rest In those days we had all that Victorian confidence and certitude in progress. We thought in a few years time our ideas of freedom would spread all across Europe and all across the world And we never expected then that our whole conception of democracy would be attacked by people who rejected every part of it people who rejected the rule of law who rejected the idea of freedom of speech who rejected the idea of freedom of the person who rejected the idea of a popular vote And that challenge came to us in 1939 and we had to fight it At that time we stood for what we call the democratic idea Of course there were people outside There were the Swiss there were other neutrals and of course there was the United States of America And it looked at one time pretty doubtful whether democracy would survive at all We had been rather pleased after World War I with the freedom given to the States of the old Austrian Empire because we thought they would all soon grow up be good little democrats like ourselves I do not think they all were I doubt whether some of those border States like Rumania possibly Hungary were really very democratic. The only one that seemed to us in those succession States as really having the ideas of democracy was Czechoslovakia But undoubtedly after the first world war the tide of democracy was still in flood and it was flowing towards the East

The second world war was the biggest challenge of all And when Russia joined hands with Hitler of Germany the outlook for democracy looked pretty black. Of course we never doubted we'd win Never go into a fight thinking you are not going to win But we really had nothing much to depend upon except faith And perhaps we should not have won through if Hitler had not chosen to attack Russia and if Japan had not attacked America and by that brought in the democracies of the West to help the struggling democracies of Europe

Well, we won that contest but still there is that challenge The democratic idea did not get very far and we were faced with a new challenge, a second challenge as much opposed to the democratic way of life as was fascism, and that is Russian Communism True, they called themselves democratic but I have never found that they understood democracy in the least I have always thought it a pretty compliment when your opponents call themselves by your name We used to have that at home The more reactionary elements in local government were challenged by what we have called in our days the Left At the beginning of the century they called themselves municipal reformers Reform had a good sound They were not reformers at all It was a pretty compliment and so I find that our Russian friends call themselves democrats I am unable to find any conception of democracy there And so one looks round the world today and sees how the position stands

Now since then we have had our setbacks but we have had our great advances, and the most notable advance, undoubtedly, is in India Democracy as a system of government increases in difficulty according to the size of a particular community and India has practised democracy on a scale that even puts the United States of America in the shade Well that is a great advance, but it is interesting to look at democracy today and particularly to see the various forms it takes

Now, I must not omit to mention a wonderful democracy and that is the Swiss democracy A true Swiss always holds himself aloof He is rather above the battle But they have a remarkable democratic system in which a small country, with at least three languages and two religions manages not to quarrel about those things but carries on a quiet democratic system of government with the main object as far as I can see of providing pleasure for the rest of the world A very altruistic attitude! It is a little outside the two ma

streams of democratic expression They carry things very far I doubt whether very many in this room or any other gathering could tell you at this moment who was the President of Switzerland? I could when I was Prime Minister but I could not now It is extremely democratic and there is no hint of the worship of personality But otherwise it seems to me that the democratic system has expressed itself in two main streams one I would call the Whitehall model and the other is the Washington model Which is the more democratic? I hesitate to say We still have a monarch and you have seen our monarch over here and a very democratic monarch too And I think that on the whole the best democracies are those with kings and queens—Britain Belgium Sweden Norway and Denmark Of course the old fashioned idea was that you had to be a republic to be really advanced I am bound to say that I have seen a number of republics which were very very far from the democratic idea They derive from the government of the United States of America which of course claims to be a pure democracy and they have a President and they elect their President for four years I have often had to point out to them that what they really do is to elect a monarch for four years roughly speaking a William III He was in about the same position as the American President and therefore they have an element in their Constitution which except once in four years is as undemocratic as William III William III of course had his own difficulties He could not come into his Parliament and sometimes that happens with the American President and you will find that these two different methods of democracy extend over the world There is the Westminster model which you find with variations in Canada in Australia in New Zealand and of course India and Ceylon and in varying degrees according to national predilections in all these newly enfranchised States I put the constitutions in the Scandinavian countries perhaps as belonging to that same group

On the other hand, there is the American system, the Presidential system Now that is copied by some States in Central and South America Unfortunately, it always seems to me, although it is copied, it is not quite followed The Constitution seems often to be suspended there I have often thought they suffer from too many Generals who seem to take over government at intervals

Anyway there are those two great systems Now, one does not quite know what happens in the newly enfranchised States that were formerly under autocratic rule Germany—I never thought she would be awfully good at working democracy They may have an admirable constitution and you can have an admirable democratic constitution The whole question is can you make it work? Now we have got a most extraordinary constitution and if you look at it you will never think it will work. It only works because we want it to I remember in about 1932 I was on a committee of Lords and Commons and we were working out a democratic constitution for India A certain proposal was put forward and a noble Lord got up and made a long speech and he pointed out about six places where that constitution would break down So, I being rather rude got up and pointed out to the noble Lord that for every six of his objections I could find at least ten in our constitution It did not break down because we did not want it to And I said whatever constitution is adopted in India, will not really depend so much on how nice it is as the lawyers have put it down but whether they want to make it work Therefore when you look at constitutions, democratic constitutions it is not so much what their content is as whether you have the spirit of democracy behind them, and whether you have the practical wisdom to make them work

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governed Now it is perhaps much more difficult with a very very large unit which is necessarily rather remote from a man in the village and therefore it is essential to my mind for a live democracy to carry that democracy right down to the smaller units

I am glad to hear of what you are doing here with Pan chayats Now I believe in democracy in our country right up from the Parish Council from the County Council and the Town Council right up to Parliament people sometimes sneer at Parish pump politics but unless you take an interest in your Parish pump you probably will not take interest in your big irrigation schemes Unless you think of making your village a fit place for people to dwell in you perhaps won t think of how to make your country a fit place to dwell in And for years and years in our country and in most of the Western democracies you have had parliaments that tend to keep in people s minds the reality of democracy

It is at that point that I sometimes begin to feel some doubts about the future There are so many competing things today When I was young we hadn t got the cinema thank God! And we hadn t got the wireless and democracy was a great drama The chief figures in Parliament were known by sight I wonder whether they will keep it up now? Whether they can compete with the film stars? Whether they can get themselves put across for after all democracy is not just an abstraction It consists of men and women You now have television I was horrified when television came in because here was a chance of showing people what other people were really like and I gathered you have got to be awfully good looking to attract particularly the lady electors And as I looked round my Cabinet I said 'This is a pretty poor look out for us isn t it? But now today you do undoubtedly get a good deal of political instruction but you also have the creation of quite a new Adam—what I call the television

M P He is a tremendous man on television but he does not count for much in the House of Commons And that creates a certain danger We try to keep our new devices as free as we can from domination by pushers We allot our time very carefully between the political parties But it is a dangerous weapon Once you have got into the hands of people they might run away with the ordinary citizen, because the trouble with the ordinary citizen is that he is so lazy At least they are in our country If he gets somebody else to think for him, he is delighted I do not think they get the amount of hard thought that we used to have when I was young When I was young we used to go round the street corners quite a lot We did not get always very many listeners but we got some And the political meetings at the street corner, particularly in provincial centres had a very great influence on political thought Things were discussed in the factory and everywhere Well, those meetings have almost disappeared Even indoor meetings are not very well attended with us sometimes hardly at all And in their place you have this mass propaganda and that is one danger

Another danger is the newspaper Now we are getting a form of cannibalism in our newspapers They buy each other up We have only two evening newspapers in London now, and they are both conservative I don t read either But there it is And you have an immense pressure today exerted through the press We also have a very lively provincial press, with lots of smaller newspapers but now we are tending to get a syndicated press And I do not respect very very highly the mental or moral qualities of the magnates who control our press

There is the pressure of mass advertising that has now invaded political parties You know our Conservative Party had a great victory at the last elections I thought it was a good deal due to very clever and expensive advertising I

mean it is as easy to advertise something political as anything else You can say so and so s beer is the best Or some phrase of that kind and you can put up a poster saying you never had it so good for the conservative And that puts a good deal more power into money than there used to be And the ordinary man in the street now has so many things to divert him You go round canvassing at election time you find they won t listen to you They are all listening to television Dangerous The bias is not only in political matters for you will find the attendance perhaps at trade union meetings falls off and all kinds of voluntary associations and democracy as I said is not an affair of voting for Parliament or for the local council but there are many other local activities There is the danger which I see of internal decay of democracy through people not caring enough and through the pressure of these modern contrivances. The more complicated our society gets the greater is that danger the danger we shall fall into the hands of the technicians

Things are so difficult for us to understand As I see it I do not think there is a real danger today of being attacked by some autocratic power I think our far greater danger is lest we should decay from within that we should forget that democracy is a thing that was won by a struggle and can only be preserved by a struggle I do not know how you find it over here I sometimes am afraid of our younger people not taking enough interest and then it all may slip away We all generally agree that there is this ideological contest going on

I spoke to you yesterday of my hope that we would avoid another world war that we would fight out our differences on the ideological and not the military plane My belief is that with the clearer contest democracy will win because the democratic conception is the only one worthy of full human beings But one has to remember that the advocates of Com

munism or authoritarianism are, many of them, very devoted And if you want to beat them you have got to have as much devotion to our democratic way of life as they have to their authoritarianism Because I want this I want to meet them The more we get together the better because I say, I think we shall win They think they will win Now I am quite opposed to drawing a kind of cordon sanitaire around these wicked authoritarians in case we should be corrupted It reminds me of when I was very young in the labour movement and I had just joined my good comrades down in Limehouse Well, I was a middle class person of course and I had all kinds of friends in the capitalist parties My friends said to me one day Don t you think it is very dangerous your meeting these conservatives? They will corrupt you ' I said 'Have you never thought that I shall corrupt them?" And that is my feeling When meeting a communist, I think our way of life is superior and I look forward to a gradual amelioration of human relations owing to the communists in course of time, with increasing wealth and with increasing contacts becoming less fanatical But until this happens it won't do to let down all our international barriers

I am particularly pleased to know here the concern there is in your Government and everywhere for cultural matters Western culture is the essence of democracy Our great literature, either eastern or western is of the breath of democracy and the other breath of democracy is toleration I do not know whether you realise that I realise very clearly how much we need toleration Now we are extraordinarily tolerant in some ways in our country They tolerate me People often wonder why we are such good friends with the other side We are We do not think they are awfully wicked We only think they are wrong And toleration when you come to think of it is the basis of our living together in society, a recognition of each other s differences and even occasionally a recognition of the other man s virtues

and possibly of our own failures Now all these authoritarian regimes whether they are fascists or communists and in method there is very little difference between the two do not believe in toleration They believe in a rigid ugly uniformity and anyone who steps out of the straight and narrow path is dealt with pretty severely Toleration—that is one thing And I think you have shown it here I think you have to continue to show it here General Smuts once said to me he thought the English were the only really tolerant people Of course I took it very nicely He did not say that the Scots or the Welsh were but the English We are very tolerant They won t even allow us to call ourselves English We have always to talk of British Not that the Scots are not British and possibly even the Welsh But anyway they do not like us saying English we English and we put up with it we are very tolerant

Toleration—and with toleration I think goes humour I believe it is part of democracy to be able to laugh at yourselves Now we have a curious sense of humour I always rather like the sense of humour of the cockney It tends to repress people who think too much of themselves There was little Oswald Mosley Oswald Mosley started a Fascist Party and he had all the appurtenances of Hitler He dressed in black with a black shirt He had a great meeting and there was the meeting packed on to the stage and into the limelight strode Oswald Mosley with the Fascist salute—Whoop! Magnificent! A voice from the back said Yes Oswald dear you may go to the lavatory! Well you see that punctured his pretensions altogether A good sense of humour is part of democracy and part of our way of life

I am hoping to go to your Parliament I hope you have a bit of humour there we even have a bit of it in the House of Lords where we are too awfully polite We are not polite in the Commons though I am told we are much politer than

we used to be That is due to the advent of the working classes Their manners are much better Plenty of humour, plenty of toleration, and we shall win through But there is no doubt that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, the price of democracy is eternal vigilance, and democracy, the working of democracy, is not passive It makes demands on the ordinary citizen to take part, and the lazy people say, "Oh! leave it to someone else If you keep leaving it to someone else sooner or later you may fall under a dictatorship and that would be fatal

Well ladies and gentlemen, these are only the observations of an old politician I have long forgotten what I learnt about political science It is funny but I sometimes find most eminent political scientists not much good at practical politics Perhaps it does not matter much But I am a great believer in our democratic way of life One of the things which rejoiced me in these difficult days has been your success in India, because I do not believe myself that democracy, broadly speaking has been absolutely natural in Asia It has been largely brought from Europe. I do not find any native democracy in China Of course your great rival for the leadership of Asia is China What you do here is of vital importance because wherever there is a democratic movement in Asia and in Africa too, they look to you You are the leaders the spear point of democracy in Asia You may have taken the torch from Europe, but it is burning brightly in your hands